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New era for Europe reckoned from the signing of the Berlin Agreement

At his last press conference President Pompidou of France lent support to Chancellor Brandt's Ostpolitik and defended it in the face of Opposition criticism in Bonn, for which the Chancellor will have been duly grateful.

M. Pompidou began with two long monologues in the manner of General de Gaulle on East-West relations and monetary policy. Additional questions on a number of major topics were then permitted.

An American journalist asked what France's reaction to President Nixon's projected visit to Peking was, for instance.

M. Pompidou noted that France established diplomatic relations with Red China some years ago. It thus came as no surprise to him that everyone is now suddenly beginning to realise that China exists and that some 800 million people are governed from Peking.

"Mr. Nixon's journey is a major move, indeed a major adventure," the French

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President commented, "but he has already succeeded in many other ventures."

President Nixon had not at that stage announced his intention of following up his visit to Peking by accepting an invitation by the Soviet government to visit Moscow.

Does this, then, represent a dual "adventure"? Mr Nixon does not seem to think so. He feels that a number of military agreements with the Soviet Union have created a favourable atmosphere for his journey to Moscow.

America feels the Four-Power agreement on Berlin to have been particularly beneficial, not to say of historic significance. Four-Power agreement on Berlin is viewed elsewhere to a far greater extent than in this country to be the starting-point for settling other conflicts.

The hoped-for new era in international relations is virtually reckoned to have begun with the conclusion of the Berlin Agreement, as French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann put it in his major address to the United Nations.

The Berlin Agreement is mentioned in all important political commentaries nowadays. Even in the Hanoi communiqué in which Soviet President Podgorny promised North Vietnam Soviet assistance both sides stated their approval of the Moscow Treaty with Bonn and the Berlin Agreement.

On a recent journey Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev overflew part of this country and took the opportunity of sending the Chancellor and people in the Federal Republic a greetings telegram echoing these sentiments.

It may, then, have become an international custom to date the beginning of an era of international detente from the signing of the Berlin Agreement but one proviso must be made.

It is common knowledge that the announcement of President Nixon's intention to visit Peking accelerated the progress of the Berlin talks. There is, of course, no official connection between the two events but there is a factual link between Mr Nixon's announcement and the Soviet concessions that led to Four-Power agreement.

With Washington growing closer to Peking a power-political "rule of three" of Washington, Peking and Moscow loomed on the horizon.

According to conventional ideas this would involve a combination of the three superpowers, two of which could join forces against the third, there being, of course, several possibilities.

But must this remain an ineluctable law of international politics? Can no solution be found to a state of affairs that might, when all is said and done, assume dangerous proportions for each of the three powers and thus for the entire world?

Two of the three superpowers are engaged in an attempt to find an answer. The Soviet Union has invited President Nixon to visit Moscow and Mr Nixon has accepted the invitation.

For the time being, then, President Nixon has refrained from utilising to the full the Chinese card he now has in his hand. He has thus taken the pressure off Moscow.

The President has made it clear that the Chinese card need not necessarily be played against the Soviet Union. Moscow is evidently interested in this turn of events but how will enigmatic China react?

It would like to keep the American card in its hand while at the same time avoiding a head-on collision with the other Communist world power.

At present Moscow does not hold a Chinese card in its hand but times may change and if the three superpowers are to eliminate or reduce the risk of a head-on collision the course of world affairs must be developed in a direction which President Pompidou rightly supposes will be a little on the adventurous side.

Peace Prize awarded in Frankfurt

Countess Marion Dönhoff, editor-in-chief of the weekly *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, was awarded the West German Publishers' Association Peace Prize at Frankfurt on 17 October. The Countess is here seen with Werner Stichnote, president of the West German Publishers' Association at the presentation. (Photo: AP)

The first two superpowers to believe they held a controlling interest in world affairs after two world wars have increasingly paralysed each other in the course of the years.

Chairman Mao proclaimed years ago that Russo-American domination of world affairs was a thing of the past and it is an unquestionable fact that the two superpowers have effectively prevented one another from resolving the Middle East conflict between Arabs and Israelis, from restoring peace to South-East Asia and from forestalling genocide whether it be in Africa or Pakistan.

General Secretary Brezhnev's aim is to end a state of affairs in which the two superpowers render each other incapable of action. This is the target of his detente offensive towards the West.

In inviting President Nixon to visit Moscow the Kremlin is seeking to gain American support for its view of the possibilities of safeguarding peace after the emergence of China as a third superpower.

It was Mr Nixon who on assuming office proclaimed a transition from confrontation to cooperation, a slogan he hopes will be a vote-winner in next year's Presidential elections.

The idea of converting opposites into cooperation and superpower rivalry into a club of superpowers with common interests would seem to be a far-fetched one.

The Soviet Union is still boosting its troop strength on the Chinese border and increasing its armaments superiority over the United States and its allies. Were President Nixon to return from Moscow with a genuine arms limitation package confidence might be restored.

And if a new era in international relations is in the offing Europe ought to lose no time in ensuring that it has a role to play. (Der Tagesspiegel, 17 October 1971)

EEC summit would not solve all problems

While the majority of the Labour Party and above all British trade unions are behaving exactly as General de Gaulle envisaged when he declared Britain not ready for membership of the Common Market Premier Heath is unerringly progressing towards the EEC.

Mr Heath already feels himself to be so much a part of the Common Market that the proposal for a Western European summit conference was his own.

Even if Western Europe were to include more than the Six and the four would-be members the Common Market countries would of course be in the majority.

For the time being all that Bonn knows about Mr Heath's detailed ideas of a European summit is what is contained in the letter written to Chancellor Brandt by the Prime Minister.

Is his proposal designed to compete with President Pompidou of France or to complement French suggestions? M. Pompidou put forward the idea of a summit conference some time ago.

In view of the success of the Hague summit of 1969, which was also an idea of M. Pompidou's, one can but conclude that the sooner another such gathering is held the better.

But is the situation as favourable as it was two years ago? 1969 was a year of stagnation for European integration and something or other just had to happen. A change had also been brought about by the departure of General de Gaulle from the political scene.

The Common Market made great strides in The Hague but the doldrums returned with the monetary crisis and it may well take more than a summit to clarify the present situation.

Preparations should nonetheless be made with the idea of holding a summit early next year in mind. What matters, though, is that foreign policy consultation within the EEC progresses frankly, energetically and continuously.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 October 1971)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Currency crisis threatens wellbeing of the EEC

On returning from the Crimea or at similar junctures of his *Ostpolitik* Chancellor Brandt tends to assure all and sundry that policy towards the Eastern Bloc has only been rendered possible by the Federal Republic's firm commitments to the West.

Policy on Western Europe remains, the Chancellor says, a major task for Bonn. Yet at present this policy shows signs of a crisis situation. *The decline of the Common Market has grown most apparent in the agricultural sector.*

As things stand the common agricultural market no longer exists. Every Common Market country has agricultural prices of its own again.

The Bonn Minister of Agriculture is calling, understandably enough, for the retention of offset tariffs at present charged at the frontier to stop agricultural produce from neighbouring countries from grossly undercutting home-grown produce in the wake of *Mark* flotation.

Were this tariff to be retained after the return to fixed exchange rates it would be the end of the common agricultural market, which for a number of EEC countries is a sine qua non of European integration.

Were permanent duties on agricultural produce to be charged the Common Market would not, of course, break up overnight, but it would be only a matter of time before there were demands for new industrial tariffs.

Monetary policy is in a sorry plight too. In 1969, after devaluation of the French franc and revaluation of the Mark, it was realised for the first time that the European Economic Community could not survive without a common economic and monetary policy.

Differing growth and inflation rates generate intolerable tension in a common market. Agreement was accordingly reached to establish an economic and monetary union within ten years.

But since the beginning of May this year when the Mark was floated the governments of the Six have proved unwilling to come to monetary compromises even at the risk of a collapse of the Common Market.

The Common Market fracas was intensified when President Nixon turned the international monetary system upside down with his programme for the protection of US industry.

The international monetary crisis added fresh fuel to the flames of discontent within the Six, including such problematic topics as a possible increase in the price of gold. Above all, it represented a strain on political relations between the Common Market and the United States. For the duration of the crisis EEC decisions on a monetary union, a common medium-term economic policy and budgetary coordination are so much waste paper. Unless ways and means of resolving monetary policy differences and inaugurating economic policy cooperation designed to forestall future tension and imbalance are found the tendency to break up the Common Market will grow steadily stronger.

So far there have been few indications that any of the six member-governments is devoting serious thought to a solution of the crisis in European integration.

Politicians specialising in monetary and agricultural affairs have been left very much to their own devices. The likelihood of them reaching agreement is slender. It is more than their jobs are worth to make sufficient concessions on their own policy to pave the way for a compromise.

In 1964 the Foreign Ministers of the Six met in Brussels half a dozen times before agreeing on a common grain price. Sacrifices were involved that the Ministers of Agriculture could hardly be expected to make. They were made by the member-governments in the interest of integration.

The governments of the Six must take similar action now to prevent the Common Market from disintegrating.

This, then, is the key issue. What importance apart from fine words do member-countries now attach to European integration? The field having been left to specialist Ministers would seem to suggest a lack of current political interest.

Bonn can, of course, argue that dramatic developments in Berlin and *Ostpolitik* of late have come to assume major importance. But in view of inactivity in Brussels the point is swiftly being reached at which doubts arise as to whether *Ostpolitik* is not inordinately overshadowing European integration policy.

Two years after the Hague summit it is no longer sufficient to note that the Chancellor championed European integration in December 1969. Even the admission of Britain to the EEC, the most significant outward sign of progress in Europe, declines in importance beside the fact that the Common Market is in the doldrums.

Yet the monetary crisis is an example of the prospects a united Europe would have if it were to take a common stand. President Nixon would probably have exercised greater caution in going it alone if Western Europe had been a responsible opposite number to be taken seriously.

There can, for that matter, be little doubt that the Common Market countries will bring little influece to bear on the forthcoming reform of the international monetary system unless they adopt a common stand.

The current difficulties are even more informative. The Six conduct roughly half their foreign trade with each other and this market is safe from Nixon-type moves as long as no new tariff walls are erected within the EEC.

The Common Market will be even more important once Britain is also a member. Can we afford to risk jeopardising the survival of a market of this kind at a juncture at which the remainder of world trade is threatened by protectionist tendencies?

And economic considerations apart, is a Europe of nation-states overshadowed by the Soviet Union as a superpower so desirable an aim that integration can be abandoned?

Proposals have meanwhile been made (and hesitantly welcomed by Bonn) for a summit conference to be attended by the present and would-be members of the EEC.

Differences of opinion cannot be expected to vanish without trace the moment none or ten heads of government meet at the conference table, but if the summit is to pave the way for a solution it can only do so by compelling the governments concerned to reappraise their priorities and no longer allow monetary or agricultural considerations to rule the roost.

Preparations must also be made for a summit, for summit conferences that prove a failure are worse than none at all. But the crisis within the Common Market is too deep-seated for there to be an unlimited amount of time left.

Thomas Löffelholz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 October 1971)

Manlio Brosio to go on fact-finding tour of Warsaw Pact States

The Atlantic pact is sending its outgoing Secretary-General on a fact-finding tour of the Warsaw pact. Manlio Brosio of Italy is to sound out the East's willingness to agree to a mutual balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe, Nato Deputy Foreign Ministers recently agreed in Brussels.

This decision seems to indicate activity. It could, of course, also be viewed as the reverse, as a makeshift measure undertaken because the Nato countries have so far failed to agree on a clear uniform approach to the MBFR complex. Views within Nato certainly diverge widely.

America, hard pressed by the need to economise, by Senator Mansfield and by next year's Presidential elections, is all for prompt action.

Washington appears prepared to do virtually anything that will swiftly and perceptibly ease the situation, even to cut back the armed forces by five to fifteen per cent regardless whether there is a sound basis or whether only US and Soviet troops are involved.

Bonn is right to apply the brake at this juncture. It is as interested in what is at stake as anyone else and eqully determined to ensure that a mistaken and over-hasty first move does not make further steps in the right direction more difficult.

The initial stages of troop cuts must not be limited to America and the Soviet Union; nor must they be limited to this country.

They must also be linked to political measures such as a limitation on troop movements that are designed to create confidence on which further progress can be based.

(Die Zeit, 15 October 1971)

President Nixon changes his policy course

Over the past three months President Nixon has gradually taken domestic and foreign policy decisions of historic significance. He is in the process of effecting his undertaking to supplant the era of confrontation with an era of negotiation.

On 15 July he announced his intention of visiting Peking. On 15 August he imposed a ninety-day moratorium on wage and price increases and took the dollar off the gold standard.

Now, on 12 October, he has annouced details of a summit meeting in Moscow at the end of next May after his visit to the Chinese capital.

This is nothing more or less than a complete about-turn in US policy. The change is so far-reaching that its significance has yet to be fully grasped in most world capitals.

Mr Nixon's new policy cannot be measured in terms of old yardsticks either. It is neither internationalist nor isolationist. Concepts such as the free world and the communist bloc are no longer important.

At all events the Nixon administration has departed from the fundamental foreign policy principle developed by President Roosevelt and the Democrats during and since the war and reactivated under President Kennedy.

This principle was that the balance of international power was based on two superpowers each guaranteeing the other's sphere of influence and exercising unlimited sovereignty within its own bloc.

In home affairs and monetary policy the Nixon administration has also departed from principles and concepts that have been considered inviolable for a generation and more.

President Nixon's intervention in the domestic economy and his extremely flexible and almost scientific methods of dealing with the problems in hand can no longer be defined in terms of either socialism or capitalism.

The vehement reaction of American trade unions to Mr Nixon's interventionist policies, a policy line expected least of all from a Republican President, only goes to show how much concepts and fronts have shifted.

The foreign policy reprercussions are enormous but the effects on home affairs and party politics in the United States will be incalculable.

"He has caught the Democrats taking a dip and sneaked off with their clothes," one commentator in Washington noted, indecating that the Republican administration has to a large extent incorporated the ideology and practices of the "other side" in its policies.

Mr Nixon has indeed gone far further. He has taken action that no Democrat would have dared to attempt. The more left-wing of the two major American parties would unquestionably have been accused of kow-towing to the Communists were it to have approached not only Moscow but also Peking.

The basis of the new pragmatism in Washington is a fair degree of deideologisation and a decision to forgo the framing of and emphasis on so-called ideological opposites.

Mr Nixon is talking in terms of realism, a term that is growing fashionable all over the world and in point of fact merely indicates that technological developments in both the military and civilian sectors have resulted in new rules of the game for international politics.

The Foreign Ministers, who met for talks in the course of the UN General Assembly are virtually agreed in expecting changes to occur the conclusion of the Berlin talks.

Next year will probably witness the start of a whole series of East-West conferences and summit meetings, or at least preparations for them. One can but hope that they will prove a success.

Mr Nixon will be conferring both in the Kremlin and in Peking, on both sides of the Great Wall, as it were. Washington will cut back on its military establishment in both Asia and Europe.

The Pentagon is already working out the details of a new armaments concept reducing the strength of the armed forces to a fraction of the 1.3 million men until recently considered to be necessary.

Marlene Manthey

(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 October 1971)

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OSTPOLITIK

Many difficulties ahead before detente with the East is achieved

State Secretary at the Chancellery, Egon Bahr, said recently that in discussions with the German Democratic Republic he felt like a mountaineer who has just negotiated the first foothills and can now see "just how long the way ahead is. I still do not know how many hilly ridges lie ahead of us."

This picture applies not only to the negotiations which Herr Bahr is carrying on at present with State Secretary Michael Kohl of the GDR. It is characteristic of the whole field of negotiations between Bonn and the communist East. They are by no means a Sunday afternoon walk through a green and pleasant land, but a strenuous piece of rock climbing with nasty surprises and dangers likely to crop up at any time.

Recently another obstacle loomed up out of the fog which we in the West thought had already been surmounted. Prior to the signing of the Berlin Agreement the Four Powers had occasionally expressed a fear nurtured by the Russians that the Moscow regime could make ratification of the Moscow Treaty by the Federal Republic an essential prerequisite for signing the Treaty.

But the Soviet Union's representative did not make any demand of the kind. He contented himself with pointing out the parallel nature of the Berlin negotiations and the process of ratification at the signing ceremony.

Only now at the conferences of foreign ministers on the periphery of the general assembly of the United Nations in New York *has it be*come clear that by parallel Moscow understands something completely from the interpretation of the Western powers.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko confronted his colleagues from Bonn, Washington, London and Paris with the Soviet viewpoint that Moscow could only implement the closing minutes of the Berlin Agreement and therefore set in motion the agreements that have been negotiated between Bonn and East Berlin when the Federal Republic has ratified the Moscow Treaty.

There is little point in puzzling over the Soviet Foreign Minister's intentions and whether this move is designed to create a "formal" link, that is to say a tie between the two different levels of negotiation, and whether this unexpected turn of events was intented to put pressure on Bonn or whether it was merely meant to be a warning.

Reports on the talks on New York are still too full of holes and contradictions. They make a reliable judgement impossible.

Even through Moscow did not come out into the open and only announced its claims initially at confidential talks this double strategy of the Kremlin is still unpleasant for Bonn.

This is more particularly so since hopes have been raised during Chancellor Brandt's visit to Soviet Party leader Leonid Brezhnev and the consequent breaking of deadlock in the Bahr-Kohl negotiations that the Berlin Agreement might swiftly be implemented. These hopes now seem to have been deceptive.

It is little consolation for the Bonn government that it was able to raise some impressive arguments against the timing the Kremlin called for as Foreign Minister Walter Scheel has already managed to do during discussions with Andrei Gromyko in New York.

The government can point out that Moscow is damaging its own interests with this braking manoeuvre since the preparations for the European Security Conference for which the Kremlin is striving can only swing into action when a satisfactory solution of the Berlin problem has been negotiated.

And Bonn can point out that in a democratic State such as the Federal Republic ratification of the treaties cannot simply be decreed but must by a free decision of the Bundestag. Pressures from outside are more likely to endanger ratification than promote it.

But Bonn would be succumbing to illusions if it were to believe that such arguments could remove the worries of the Soviet government which is said to fear that it could end up empty-handed, that is to say holding nothing but an unratified Moscow Treaty.

Obviously ths sharp rejection of the Moscow Treaty by the Opposition in Bonn has made an impression on the Kremlin. Moscow seems to be decidedly disquieted that the CDU majority in the Bundesrat could torpedo ratification or that this could be postponed by an objection raised before the Federal Constitutional Court.

In this respect the Bonn government is in an unfavourable position since the Kremlin is trying to implement its wishes with the same arguments Bonn used in the past to put pressure on Moscow and other East Bloc States.

In the summer of 1970 at and before the signing of the Moscow agreement the Foreign Ministry in Bonn never tired of stressing that its treaty with Moscow could only come into force concurrent with corresponding agreements with other East Bloc States as well as with renewed allied agreements on Berlin.

There can scarcely be any surprise in Bonn that Moscow has now turned the tables and is using this strongly emphasised connection to its own advantage. This has unsettled Bonn since the government has been assuming recently that Moscow would put the Berlin Agreement into force as soon as Bonn and East Berlin had agreed on questions of detail. Only then was the ratification procedure to be introduced into the Bundestag. Doubts have now been cast on this business.

The only opportunity now to frustrate Soviet intentions would be as the *Times* of London rightly said a firm stand and solidarity among the Western powers. But there still seems to be a lack of this.

From Washington at least voices have been heard expressing understanding for Moscow's wishes. It would be underestimating the quick reactions and astuteness of Soviet politicians to assume that Moscow had not noticed and taken advantage of this state of affairs.

Therefore Foreign Minister Scheel will not have an easy time of it at the end of November when he visits Gromyko in Moscow to discuss this ticklish problem. He has already shown what solution he is aiming for in a television broadcast in which he stated that Bonn would start the ratification process as soon as a Berlin Agreement between Bonn and East Berlin was "in the bag."

This presumably means that it must be concluded although not necessarily implemented. Only time will tell whether this agreement will satisfy Moscow. Scheel is incapable of guaranteeing to the Kremlin ratification of the Moscow Treaty. This remains for Moscow a risk.

This whole development may seem at first glance like a gift for the Opposition in Bonn. But in fact it too is faced with tricky problems. It will presumably be able to defend itself against the government's accusing finger if ratification is torpedoed and responsibility for destroying the hopes of the Berliners is shoved into its shoulders.

But things will be difficult for the Opposition if the three Western powers, whose cards it likes to play out against the Bonn government, show understanding for Moscow's schedule.

All in all this intermezzo shows again how dangerous it is to raise false hopes in connection with negotiations with the East or to expect too much too soon. In this struggle to achieve a peaceful future in central Europe which is far from nearing its end he who avoids falling prey to illusions and keeps a steady nerve against adversity will come out on top.

Alfred Hildebrand

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 October 1971)

Pragmatism is the main hope for detente

Foreign Minister Walter Scheel has quite rightly pointed out to the Soviet Union that the link made by Moscow's Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko between ratification of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw and implementation of the agreements on the future of Berlin is more likely to impede the progress of detente policies in Europe than to prove advantageous.

These disadvantages are not so likely to affect the actual crux of the matter as the course of the individual steps towards relaxation of tension and above all the general climate.

Both factors are regrettable, however much understanding one has for the difficulties that are at present being experienced by the Soviet Union.

In a situation such as this it would be advisable to bear in mind that "practical rationality" and "pragmatism" which marked the first joint steps along the road to detente.

If the Soviet Union sticks to its "reverse link" *de facto* or *de jure* (and the difference is minimal) the Bonn government and Nato will have to modify their schedule for the ratification of the treaties with the communist East and for negotiations leading up to a European Security Conference.

The word parallelism, which the diplomatically shrewd President Georges Pompidou of France threw into the midst of the debate a year ago, could prove to be valuable.

All this has happened one hundred times and more at international treaty negotiations and it would not be so bad if the Federal Republic did not have an opposition both within and without the Bundestag which constantly replace matter-of-fact argument with pure emotionalism in debates concerning detente policies.

There are in fact good reasons for assuming that the CDU/CSU will express their discontent with these treaties in the Bundestag, but will not attempt to hinder ratification of them, perhaps as a result of sudden illnesses putting members out of action.

But at the same time there is a fear that they and their cronies will be able to make the atmosphere so highly charged with the help of the "reverse link" that more gullible types will regard the Bundestag as being pressurised by the Soviets.

There can be no question of this since in this case, as in many other political cases there is give and take. We can only hope that the Opposition will keep its feet on the ground of facts. There is too much at stake, in Berlin for instance.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 October 1971)

Herbert Wehner speaks his mind on East Bloc treaties

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Acting Social Democrat Chairman Herbert Wehner recently spoke in Bonn in critical terms in the latest discussion about the supposed link made by the Soviets between the implementation of the Berlin settlement and the ratification of the treaties with the East Bloc by the Bundestag.

He took into account statements made by Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, who has pointed out several times recently that such an enforced link-up would not be in the best interests of the Soviet Union, either, since it would possibly delay the European Security Conference which Russia wants.

But instead of this Wehner took up the words of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko about the parallelism of these themes and said that West Germany for her part must work along the lines that Moscow has in connection with the Berlin question "exactly as we should have expected her to do."

This SPD politician continues to support an interlocking of the ratification process of the treaties of the East and the completion of the Berlin negotiations by state secretaries Egon Bahr and Michael Kohl.

Then, he considers, it would be within the scope of the Bonn government to say that there was sufficient clarity about the future in Berlin to make further developments simpler.

Opponents of this policy have been trying to delay this procedure by means of every conceivable date and deadline obstacle. But, according to Wehner, the German-Soviet treaty must be "brought to life" by this ratification.

At any rate such a precious possession must be carried as undamaged as possible over all the hurdles. On the other hand Wehner is sceptical at the idea of attaching a preamble to the treaty which might in certain circumstances make it easier to obtain the Opposition's approval.

At the same time the SPD parliamentary part chairman points out that CDU/CSU opinions about the East Bloc treaties have many nuances. A large part of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party was unsatisfied about the force of the last discussion in the Bundestag on German and East Bloc policies.

He said that perhaps there would be a chance to continue these discussions during the budget debate. At any rate he could not visualise anyone in the CDU/CSU giving a similar speech on Ostpolitik to that he himself made in 1970 before the Bundestag.

Wehner is greatly worried about the effects of the currency crisis and the measures taken by America to counteract it.

And the question of what effects this development would have on Eastern Europe concerns Herbert Wehner, who in connection with this gives a reminder of the communist slogan about the crisis of capitalism.

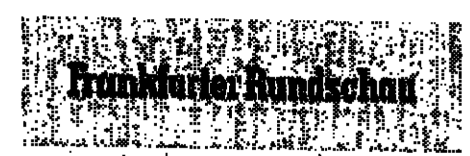
In this opinion there are unlikely to be any changes in America apart from gradual ones before the next presidential election in November 1972.

In the longer term he considers it quite likely that long-term supply interests of the East will increase in importance for industry and thus trade with the East Bloc will also gain in significance.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 October 1971)

LEGAL AFFAIRS

Gerhard Jahn makes too many concessions



Husbands and wives will be able to settle the details of their married life together if the new marriage and divorce bill put forward by Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn is passed by the Bundestag. It is now in its first reading.

The central political issue of this Bill is its proposals for divorce law reform. The subject of divorce has been arousing emotions for many months now, it has already been discussed at length by parliamentary committees and the debate was closely followed by the Churches and women's associations.

Gerhard Jahn was forced to alter the Bill's proposals three times, though never improving upon the original.

The idea behind the reform was admirable as it was intended to put an end to the undignified circus that often took place in courts of law – the conventional divorce case, a farce undertaken by more than eighty per cent of all couples seeking a swift legal separation by assuming clearly outlined roles.

It was also proposed to abolish the principle of guilt that obliges the judge to invade a couple's private sphere to find the guilty party. The guilt principle forces many people in divorce cases to saddle their partner with all the guilt in order to obtain a favourable verdict for themselves.

It was also meant to rule out the possibility of a repetition of those cases where a divorce is not granted as one of the partners is for years able to uphold the action.

When seeking an alternative that would be compatible with the demands of a constitutional State, the reformers fell back on the old idea of making the principle of marital breakdown the central feature of a new divorce law.

The result is a general clause supplemented by a number of exceptions. The Bill reads. "Marital breakdown can lead to divorce. A marriage is destroyed if the community of the spouses no longer exists and it cannot be expected that the spouses restore this community." But what does this mean?

One should not get the idea that the private life of a couple will play no part *at all in a divorce case. To reach a verdict* on whether a marriage is broken down irrevocably or can still be saved, the judge will still have to deal with facts giving information on the extent of mutual charges and accusations. If one of the partners wants the marriage to continue, he will energetically defend his position.

But a more objective atmosphere is to be expected in the case itself as the main advantage of the marital breakdown principle is that the question of maintenance no longer depends on the issue of guilt.

The main idea behind the Bill is to give the greatest security to the socially weaker groups, an idea that reveals the absolute nonsense of the attack that the government proposals are aimed against women.

On the contrary, never before has the Federal Republic government shown so much respect for the woman's traditional role as the guardian of the home. CDU-led governments have never equalled this. In fact, it could be said maliciously that Gerhard Jahn's proposals are directed against males.

But the government must be criticised for bowing to the violent protests from the conservative camp and making changes that have been rejected by experts including the Legal Congress and Justice Minister Karl Hempiler of Hesse.

One of these changes is the "non-material hardship clause" that infringes upon the principle of marital breakdown and forbids divorce in extreme cases where one of the partners will suffer not material but mental hardship in the event of separation.

Phrased in this way, the hardship clause is too vague and judges will be able to interpret it as they think fit. Many verdicts in future will therefore be unsatisfactory.



Gerhard Jahn, Minister of Justice (Photo: Archiv/dpa)

Another not very convincing change is the abandonment of a three-year period of separation as irrefutable proof of a broken-down marriage. Jahn has made this refutable and given each partner the chance of continuing the marriage if facts are put forward proving the contrary.

But just what facts have to be put forward? The Social Democrats' mistaken belief that a popular party must be all things to all men is one of the reasons why the divorce law reform proposals have been watered down in this way.

The Minister of Justice has not yet been able to put forward convincing arguments for the changes. This is also true for the separation period fixed by the Legal Congress at two years, by the government-appointed Divorce Law Reform Commission at five years and by Jahn at three years in an attempt to follow a middle-of-the-road course.

All in all, the new Bill contains proposals for a practical new divorce law but too many concessions have been made to political opponents who will certainly not thank the government for them.

Roderich Reifenrath

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 October 1971)

Equal responsibility for the home in proposed Bill

It is true that women bear children but does this mean that it is a law of nature that women must always concern themselves with their children and the home? If women's liberation is to be taken seriously, the male too could be expected to lend a hand.

Men have their jobs of course but then so do modern females. In many marriages it is the woman has the better job and thus the greater chances for a future career and high salary.

That is what gives rise to the heretical question of why it must always be the woman who gives up her job. Married couples should pay more consideration to the question of whether it is more practical for the man or woman to stay at home or whether and how they should share their duties as regards the home and family.

Existing laws are completely out of touch with our modern age when they state, "A woman may take up employment as long as this is compatible with her duties as a wife and mother."

Yesterday's reforms have quickly become out of date and themselves need reforming. When the law governing marriages and families was redrafted in 1957 it was thought of as a great advance. But after less than fifteen years it is found that the law no longer fits in with the equality of the sexes.

In the Bill now put forward by Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn this clasue reads "Both partners have the right to take up employment. When choosing and carrying out their employment they must pay due consideration to the interests of the other partner and the family."

"The woman runs the household on her own responsibility" is replaced by "The running of the household will be settled by the two partners in mutual agreement. If the running of the household is given over to one of the partners, this partner runs the household on his own responsibility."

Equality only becomes true equality when not only the wife but the husband as well has to consider his partner's interests and even run the household.

Men cannot do this, it is claimed? It is only a question of training, practice and goodwill. In many marriages, especially younger ones, the father can feed the baby and change its nappy as well as the mother. He can clean the house as well as he can clean the car.

The objection will now be made that women can combine their job and household chores far more easily as they can work part time. But why can't men work part-time? Part-time is available for pensioners and the physically handicapped.

Personnel managers today would be thunderstruck if a young father were to come along and ask for part-time work as he had taken over the running of the house because his wife too went out to work.

Part-time work seems to be alright for women but impossible for men. At any rate neither industry or public opinion is willing to accept part-time work for males.

Part-time posts could be created for men just as they are for women. Specialists, accountants, salesmen and skilled workers could work part time in offices, in the service industries as well as in the manufacturing industries.

The men themselves will have to quash the objection that important positions of responsibility cannot be filled by part-timers.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 October 1971)

Abortion detrimental to society, Minister claims

Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn recently told the Swabian Society in Stuttgart that the legislature could not comply with religious or ideological demands when reforming the penal code but could in fact only ward off dangers facing the community.

It was in this vein that Jahn explained his Ministry's plans for the current legislative period, concentrating on the much-discussed abortion law reform.

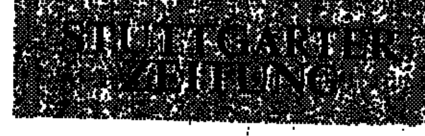
Jahn stated it must be generally agreed that a constitutional State, with Basic Law guaranteeing a society that preserved human dignity, could not recognise a termination of pregnancy as a means of birth control or as a way to overcome unsatisfactory social conditions.

Previous reforms of the penal code had, he said, been based on the principle that the law should only punish conduct detrimental to society and laws in the past had gone beyond this aim.

But abortion law reform was not a change of this type, he added. Killing human life, even in embryo form, offended the foundations of the community. This killing was detrimental to society as long as there were no justifying circumstances.

Jahn thus once again underlined his view that the problem of abortion law reform could only be solved by providing a list of cases in which doctors would be allowed to terminate a pregnancy.

He also stressed his belief that life stood under the protection of Article Two of Basic Law from nidation on-



wards, that is from a point a few days after conception.

This legal interpretation was guaranteed, Jahn said. Women too were guaranteed their rights but this must be weighed against the right of an unborn child to live.

Jahn had no illusions about the fate in store for many unwanted children and he did not dispute the fact that the actual circumstances were distressing but for a number of reasons he could not agree with a law allowing abortions until the embryo was a certain age.

The Minister stated that if abortions were allowed within a certain period there was the danger that the idea of the sanctity of embryonic life could gradually disappear.

Experience abroad gives grounds for the fear that the number of legal operations to terminate a pregnancy would grow larger than the current total of both legal and illegal operations which, experts estimate, is a few hundred thousand.

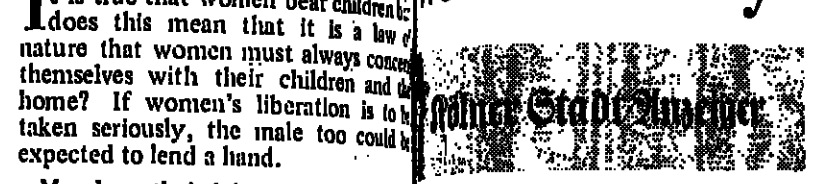
Apart from the ethical and eugenic reasons for abortion (rape or the danger of a mentally or physically handicapped child) Jahn states that the overall situation of the mother will be considered as well as physical and mental syndromes.

But he once again avoided a precise explanation of his plans for a list of medical conditions where abortion would be allowed.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 October 1971)

STATE ELECTION

SPD's Bremen election win was aided by Bonn's policies



Why was the small Federal state of Bremen, with fewer inhabitants than the city of Cologne for instance, given so much attention during the recent election campaign there?

The election to the Bremen House of Burgesses is an election to a provincial assembly. But it took place halfway through the period of office of the SPD/FDP coalition government in Bonn and was looked upon as a chance to gain some reliable information on the popularity of Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel or the public's loss of confidence in these two figures.

This was confirmed by the large turn-out of politicians from Bonn and nation-wide issues they raised. The Opposition painted a gloomy picture of the government's economic policy and made Bonn's Ostpolitik appear in disreputable light. Government speakers countered with their own arguments.

After the surprising outcome to the elections the Opposition is now refuting as was previously claimed. The Social Democrats are gradually coming to accept the theory that their great victory is due to government policy in Bonn.

Ignoring opportunistic interpretations of this kind, the nation-wide aspects of the Bremen elections must not be underestimated. The Christian Democrats failed in their large scale campaign to bring about a landslide in their favour by decrying government policy.

Despite all the merits of Mayor Hans Koschnick and the colourlessness of his Christian Democrat opponent it is absurd for the Christian Democrats today to dismiss the Bremen elections as "aldermanic elections". Christian Democrat leader Rainer Barzel should ask himself, in private at least, who benefits from the current policy of complete opposition.

Despite appreciations of the influence of government policy it must be remembered that a city-state where there has been an uninterrupted Social Democrat government throughout the past 25 years and where the Hanseatic-style of persistence also plays a role in politics must be judged differently to the other Federal states.

The Christian Democrats' antiquated election slogan "No Experiments" is still an important factor in Bremen. Tradition favours the party that has on the whole adequately administered the tiny Federal state despite a number of scandals and a rather obscure seeming plan for a university.

Mayor Koschnick knew how to show that he too was a good and reliable administrator. It is no coincidence that the Social Democrats registered their greatest gains in middle-class areas.

The fact that progressive young voters also voted SPD is no contradiction. Bremen's Social Democrats are able to combine their guarantee that the captain of the ship of state will steer a straight and steady course through wind and rain with a desire for reform which attracts votes.

The Social Democrat gains in the middle-class areas were mainly at the cost of a drop in the Free Democrat vote. The inhabitants of Bremen did not like the way this party, long a coalition partner of the Social Democrats in the city, pulled out of the city's administration only a few months before the election over university policy.

Bremen's Free Democrats were unable to explain convincingly why they had suddenly become an enemy of what they called Socialist experiments after supporting these experiments during their many years in office.



Bremen's SPD Mayor, Hans Koschnick (left), and Johann-Tönjes Cassens of the CDU after the Bremen election (Photo: Sven Simon)

The fact that the FPD need have no fears for its existence in Bremen and that Siegfried Zoglmann's Deutsche Union has gained no footing in the city is characteristic of the special Hanseatic situation.

It also means that the results of the latest elections in Bromen cannot be used as further proof of a general decline for the Free Democrats. Bremen is different.

It was surprising that the Communists were unable to get more than 3.13 per cent of the vote after swamping the small Federal state in a flood of propaganda.

Observers found that the enthusiasm they roused was mainly among age groups too young to vote. Most voters suspected that behind the party's cloak of reformist zeal lay an ideology that was controlled from another source and so steered clear.

What will now happen in Bremen? The victtorius Social Democrats greet the election results with mixed feelings. Education Senator Moritz Thape, the leader of Bremen's Social Democrats, seems to be saved. After this clear victory he need no longer be sacrificed to the FDP who had demanded an SPD turnabout on university policy.

But Koschnick sees complications facing him. First of all, he would find it difficult to fill all the senatorial posts well without the Free Democrats. The SPD/FDP coalition in Bonn also want Bremen's Social and Free Democrats to come to terms.

On the other hand, the election victory allowing the Social Democrats to govern alone is grist to the mill of those people who consider it nonsensical to tie themselves to the Free Democrats.

There is the danger that all attempts to turn the left-wing plurality of Bremen's new university into a true plurality may be submerged by the euphoria of the left wing of the party following this election victory.

When Koschnick returns to Bremen after the reception for Emperor Hirohito of Japan he will have to use his strength and skill to prevent the immoderate members now have a week to assimulate election victory from his hands.

Lothar Labusch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 October 1971)

Some odd items in the 1972 Budget proposals

The new 1972 Federal Budget recently sent to all 518 members of the Bundestag contains 25 separate proposals plus a budgetary law and new medium-term financial planning up to 1975.

It has more than four thousand pages and weighs thirteen pounds. Bundestag members now have a week to assimulate the government draft involving 106,570 million Marks expenditure and income.

The budgetary plans do not only reflect the world of big-time politics but also reveal many human weaknesses or the necessities of civil service life.

There are for instance the ministers' cars. Up to little more than a year ago they had to be black but now silver grey ones are found. They are all of one type, the 2.8 litre. The make is not mentioned but it is internationally known.

Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's Plan 06 reveals what the interior of a minister's car looks like. Free Democrat Genscher, who incidentally has engaged a public relations concern for his Ministry (the costs for 1972 will total 925,000 Marks), has entered under expenditure item 811 01 an official car with special upholstery, an electrical sliding roof, radio, head-rests, foor rest for the driver and a heated rear window.

The car costs in all 5,300 Marks extra. State secretaries have to limit themselves to 3,300 Marks worth of extras. They too have a sliding roof on their cars but have to operate it by hand.

There are a few thousand female secretaries in Bonn but this figure is still too low to carry out all the work that must be done. Nearly all the ministries in Bonn are now discovering this. For many ministries the 1972 Budget contains for the first time expenditure item 532 02: "Costs for the distribution of clerical work outside the Ministry".

The bottlenecks must be very narrow. The sundry administrative expenditure at the Chancellor's Office has been increased to eighteen thousand Marks. The reason given is "fack-finding tours and increased advertising to attract new clerical staff".

The piano in the Chancellor's bungalow – the one which singing star Udo Jürgens played – is broken. Its replacement cost 22,000 Marks.

Expenditure on public relations work has increased in nearly all the ministries, quite considerably in some cases. The Federal Press and Information Bureau obviously plans greater coordination as it has demanded 176,000 Marks for a communications system for the press advisers.

State Secretary Conrad Ahlers, chief government spokesman, also plans to leave behind a more visible memory of himself before entering the Bundestag in 1973. Expenditure item 519 01 sets aside as much as 165,000 Marks for the renovation and painting of the armed forces buildings in Bonn's Welckerstrasse.

Bonn is also to have a new press club. The costs will be paid for under the expenditure item "for the promotion of fack-finding meetings".

Ministerial building is approached with a certain amount of caution. It is however certain that a new Chancellor's Office is to be built at a total cost of seventy million Marks. Five million Marks will be spent in 1972.

A new Press Bureau is also planned but the actual sum set aside for this depends on the decision of the Bundestag Budgetary Committee. Conrad Ahlers has already spent 300,000 Marks on commissioning a feasability report on the new building.

Price rises can be found everywhere in the Budget. All items covering postal or telephone charges have been increased for 1972.

But other things too have become more expensive. President Heinemann's Office wants 150,000 Marks for medals and decorations. This rise of 40,000 Marks is due in part to the higher manufacturing costs.

The President's income has been increased in the 1972 Budget from 146,200 Marks ot 155,500, ninety per cent of what the Chancellor receives.

But the President and the Presidential Office still have their little worries. Expenditure item 516 01 demands 9,600 Marks to cover the cost of the new driver's service uniform and replacements for three worn-out dress-coats.

Other items show that the Budget consists of a number of small sums. A pariamentary state secretary earns about eighty thousand Marks a year. The specialist committee set up by Minister Karl Schiller to watch over this country's overall economic development is paid out of the Ministry of the Interior's budget. Each of the four committee members receives 52,000 Marks a year and the chairman is given an extra 6,000.

More and more ministries are setting up day nurseries to attract part-time staff. The government is also paying the costs of the annual Interpol conference that is being held for the first time in the Federal Republic.

There are also items of an explosive nature as it is not known what will be spent on them in the end. Expenditure item 893 62 covers the government's share of the costs resulting from the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972. This new item is printed in bold type but nobody can yet say how much of the tax-payers' money will have to spent.

Roland Müller

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 October 1971)

■ THINGS SEEN

Foreign galleries raise the standards of Cologne Art Market

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Cologne's Art Market – or to be more precise its central group, the progressive art dealers and their guests – has never been as large as it is this year.

But it has also never been so intent upon security as it is this year, that is to say it has never been less progressive. Once the playground of the young avant-garde, Cologne's Art Market has finally become a temple for classicists.

It is therefore only fitting that few galleries have stands showing their advocacy of a particular aesthetic movement. Almost all types of art can be found in almost all types of gallery.

In spite of this the 1971 Art Market is better and more informative than last year's. The reason is that the foreign galleries invited for the first time to the Market by Brusberg (Dieter Brusberg, from Hanover, is head of the Progressive Art Society) have given a powerful shot in the arm to their rather tired-looking West German colleagues. It is these galleries that are to be thanked for many a surprising acquaintance with the very latest in the field of art.

Sonnabend's whole stand was dominated by seven aesthetically extremely barren cardboard collages by American Robert Rauschenberg, the almost legendary pioneer of the Pop Art movement. These items produced in 1971 cost between six thousand and sixteen thousand dollars each.

Castelli exhibits nothing less than a brand-new Lichtenstein, who has obviously overcome the stagnation that had set in on his comic-strip style, a large object picture by Frank Stella and a 1970 Rosenquist painting that covers a whole wall of the stand and represents one of the artist's best-ever works.

This limitation to three works is a blessing when compared to the potpourri assembled by most of the other galleries. What is more, both Castelli and Sonnabend showed what was really new, things that we do not see every day of the week.

The only other galleries to have developed a consistent style of their own are Denise René of Paris and New York and *Tobies & Silex of Cologne.*

Visitors to Denise René's booth found an effectively arranged room with a number of sculptures by Max Bill, though these admittedly border on applied art.

At the Tobies and Silex stand there was an impressive miniature retrospective of the works of Georg Baselitz and a demonstration of sub-culture films that was admittedly more silly than convincing.

The Americans offered their exhibits for sale relatively cheaply compared with their German colleagues who are often enough their customers.

The 45,000 dollars that Castelli is charging for Rosenquist's giant *Flamingo Capsule* is cheap when it is considered that Ricke of Cologne is charging almost half this sum for a much smaller and far less important work by the same artist.

Not all galleries concentrated so strictly on the modern classicists as Rudolf Zwirner of Cologne whose range reached from Schwitters to Tanguy, from Magritte to Picasso.

Zwirner's Lichtenstein at 120,000 Marks is not particularly cheap when compared to a work by the same artist offered by Castelli that is almost four times as big and costs only 150,000 Marks.

Most galleries relied on current trends such as Twonbly and Uecker, Mack and Nagel, Beuys and Krieg, Lenk and Rot . . .

Prices have normally remained stable compared to last year. Few artists have risen greatly in price. Poliakoff has risen in value by about ten thousand Marks in the Spiegel Gallery of Cologne while a realist like Kanovitz is offered at more than five thousand Marks more by the von Thelen Gallery of Cologne and Essen.

The leading German artists of the younger generation have not increased in price much. Luther and Mack at Reckermann's of Cologne and Antes and Küchenmeister of Munich's Stangl Gallery are not much more expensive than in 1970.

Unfortunately there is some discrepancy between the catalogue and the exhibits actually on show. With Castelli and Sonnabend, as well as Emmerich of New York, Friedrich of Munich and R. L. Feigen of New York and Chicago, there is considerable difference between what was originally planned and what was eventually exhibited. That is little wonder as the catalogue was printed three months ago.

Feigen offers at least one curio – for 13,500 dollars a collector can buy the box in which Kurt Schwitters kept his Anna Blume manuscript. A biographic exhibit has suddenly become part of art fetish.

The trouble this year has not come from outsiders and artists but from galleries actually represented. René Block of Berlin made great show of handing his stand over to three young Berlin dealers – Daedalus, Poll and Skulima – to quash the argument of the shortage of space with which the progressives closed their doors to many of their competitors.

The progressives will probably expel Block from their ranks because of this protest. The Berlin dealers were punished by being given a poorly-placed stand against which Ileana Sonnabend had protested. She can now be found at Block's old stand.

The protest pamphlet issued by the Milan Schwarz Gallery is probably more important than these bickerings. Schwarz, who also illustrates the history of art with works by Man Ray, Cesar, Picabia and Duchamp, feels that he has been discriminated against as the walls are too low where he is situated, the amount of space available is too small and his position is more out-of-the-way than that of the other stands. Schwarz intimated that he was the victim of gangster methods.

Like its predecessors, this year's Art Market has not solved the bothersome space problem satisfactorily.

Mathias Schreiber

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 October 1971)

Government grant to modernise public libraries

The Ministry of Education and Science has made about 370,000 Marks available for modernising libraries in the Federal Republic, starting in the autumn of this year.

According to the Ministry in Bonn the first move will be to fix a "telex network" linking 31 libraries, most of them public, in order to test this improved means of communication.

The Ministry stated that this would be a step towards the much wanted alliance of the public and scientific library systems which have so far been separated from each other.

Experience gained in libraries in Britain and America shows that the most modern technical equipment can improve the flow of information among libraries in this country and thus speed up the process of lending considerably.

Thus the traditional role of libraries, collecting and lending books, will be extended so that they will become more far-reaching general information services.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 September 1971)

TV world puts itself under the microscope at Munich

How responsible is a television viewer? Telemakers and scientists, we fear, will take a long time before they can give a satisfactory answer to this important question. In broadcasting houses the lack of research into what televiewers want is greatly regretted, as is the lack of knowledge of a large section of viewing audiences about the makeup and structure of television production, despite the work of Infratest.

Television newscasts only tend to confirm opinions, never alter them radically and only gradually and by no means permanently influence them. Televiewers interpret news broadcasts in the way they want.

But television, those who are responsible for the programmes and the producers, can no longer be satisfied with this situation. The televiewer may often act like "a sick child". His rejection and his criticism make themselves felt in the form of viewing figures and surveys of the increasing activity of viewers associations.

The televiewer is adament that he should no longer be left out in the cold. He has become more critical and more selective. He is more ready nowadays to switch off than he was in the past, and now takes far more active part in programme debates when these are carried outside the broadcasting centres. He wants participation.

Does the viewer feel he is not being heeded? The Catholic Academy in Bavaria invited programme organisers and programme critics to a discussion of this subject with viewers in Munich.

This treated problems of communication, for instance on themes relevant to social welfare, reports from abroad, the arts and economics. It dealt with the content of programmes, and the expression of a realisation of the facts in television companies designed to benefit viewers.

In the past those responsible for putting together television programmes and their many and prominent representatives fought a good fight to put across clearly and unequivocally to the public their intentions and the chances of realising their aims. For the most part they were unsuccessful.

The viewing public, meantime, is not prepared to climb down from its favourite opinions, and the slightest confirmation of its prejudices was accepted thankfully amid great applause.

This was almost certainly dismaying for television executives but only to a certain extent. Nevertheless they were somewhat thrown off balance even though Hans Bluhm, editor-in-chief of *Hör Zu*, stood up for these "artists and craftsmen" and praised their excellence and the high degree of perfection of their programmes.

Nevertheless they lost a lot of confidence in themselves. Dietrich Schwarzkopf's discussions on problems of communication on social welfare topics and Peter Scholl-Latour's discourse on foreign news reporting were not free from self-criticism and calls for greater clarity.

Wolfgang Brobeil, head of the culture department at ZDF, outlined methods by which the arts could be made as comprehensible as possible to large sections of the viewing public, thus bringing art programmes better viewing figures.

He clarified how routine programme producers follow practical rules to make programmes suitable for eight per cent of the viewing public, that is to say those who were only educated at a *Volksschule*.

Heribert Heinrichs of the Audiovisual Media Institute in Hildesheim and Wolfgang Langenbucher of the Institute for Journalistic Science at Munich University expounded scientific criticisms of programme planning – their speeches being full of temperament and not entirely free from polemics. Time and again the scientific opinion found the greatest echo of approval among members of the viewing public.

Herr Heinrichs for example got a great response when he spoke of brutality in TV series. His Institute had worked out a crude list of horrors perpetrated on the television screen.

In one week there had been 416 televised crimes of violence, with a death roll of 193 plus 52 injuries, 26 shots fired, eight armed raids, eighteen cases of menaces at pistolpoint, sixteen instances of housebreaking and so on.

He was not prepared to go so far as to say that television was responsible for society and life in this country today becoming more and more violent.

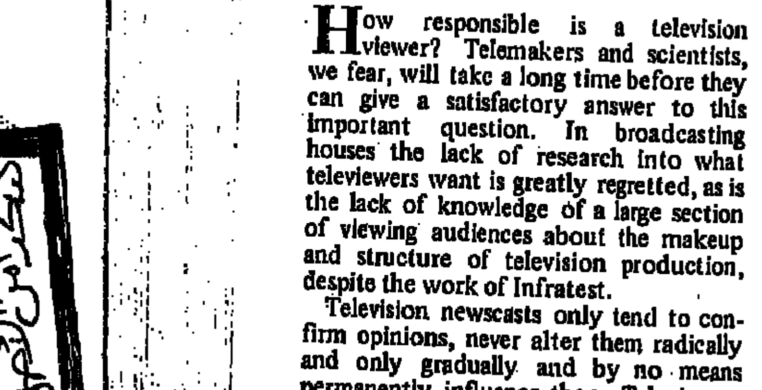
But he issued a warning that was not only accepted by the members of the audience in the hall but was taken up by them and applauded. He achieved something in that those responsible for programme planning agreed that series must be monitored and checked more carefully in future.

Herr Langenbucher spoke of Feedback Phobia as the programme planner's disease. They feared the diverse reactions of their colleagues and members of the televiewing public.

Herr Scholl-Latour later added fear of his own courage to this, lamp fever, awareness that with every broadcast and every commentary public criticism is immediately offered a challenge.

Langenbucher asked if there were not

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■ BOOKS

Aggressive profit-orientated management dominates publishing houses

Peter Härtling, an author, publisher and political commentator in one person, had cogent material on hand when he pinpointed the truth about the situation of the book on a computer orientated market with a melancholy smile.

Peter Härtling has a typical Swabian sense of the discrepancy between how things are and how they should be which is part of his style in his novels. This gave his lecture to the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts on the subject of *Das kranke Buch* (The sick literary world) a tone not of sheer despair but rather of giving an impulse and spurring things on.

He told his listeners, readers or even writers, that these were the facts with which they must now live.

The book today and today's literature must be carried by a different existential impulse and different sociological requirements, than was the case one or two generations ago.

Fact number one: the patriarchal figure of the publisher is dead. Today no one claps the talented young man on the shoulder like a benefactor, no one consoles the despairing arrivé by night on the telephone, no one offers massive sums of money which this year, next year sometime or never might serve to give a boost to a highly respected but poorly selling author and eventually make his works profitable.

This patriarchal figure has been replaced by the mangerial type who has the backing of the advertising world, the computer and the technicians of book production looking over his shoulder steering him, correcting him, influencing him and keeping him within bounds.

Many a contract for a publishing house comes via international feelers before the publisher has even seen the manuscript. For such a manuscript there is obviously keen competition and the great publishing houses, even those that bear honourable names stretching back to the twenties cannot escape from this competitive element.

With the size of these companies and their responsibilities of a non-literary kind the room for manoeuvre between existing on a bare minimum and enjoying a huge success is wafer-thin.

Härtling, the business manager of Fischer Verlag, was not able to conceal that despite his fascination with such a book as Werner Koch's *Seeleben 1*, a sterling work but unlikely to sell well, he could not accept it for publication. This could only be done by a specialist publisher such as Neske.

Fact number two: without actually expressing it in words Härtling described the phenomenon on the book market today where there is an increasing pressure of opinions.

In the major publishing houses dozens, hundreds of new titles are brought out, but very few are "made". There is emphasis on one direction or another. The budget for advertising flows to a large extent in boosting books that concentrate on this particular emphasis. Small amounts are left for boosting the many other titles. With management of this kind the press, radio and television are carried along by the current. You have to praise Erich Segel or Hildegard Knef to the skies or you are not up-to-date.

Few authors managed to become "branded goods", Böll, Grass and Lenz being exceptions.

Härtling asked his sales division about the saleability of other big names. He discovered that in the whole German-speaking world Virginia Woolf's works might sell between one and ten copies per year and in the case of Herni Michaux it was realised before the books were distributed to shops that probably half of the ordered copies would be returned unsold.

Fact number three: big sellers are non-fiction, specialised books and paperbacks. Informative books are far more in demand today than fiction.

Peter Härtling
(Photo: S. Fischer Verlag)

The latter is of interest to only a small circle: "This is literature for the knowledgeable fifty and they get their copies free."

Are there any escape routes from this dilemma suitable for the world of belles lettres?

Peter Härtling mentioned the possibility of authors publishing their own works as a risky adventure. And who has the financial potential to publish himself?

He also mentioned the authors' co-operative publishing house. But the chances for this, too, were slim in his opinion.

The complicated system of distribution would be sure to capsize such attempts at self-help. Despite new records to be chalked up by the forthcoming Frankfurt Book Fair the book world is in a bad way.

Klaus Colberg

(Kieler Nachrichten, 6 October 1971)

Continued from page 6

still strata of society whose claims for information and entertainment were being given short shrift.

One woman viewer in the course of the discussion formulated these fears precisely. They amount to aversion to an instrument which, year in year out, can make a viewer into a passive being.

Dieter Stolte, chief programme planner of ZDF (the West German second television channel), was able best to understand the reaction of the viewers. He and the *directors* of Bavarian Broadcasting and *Süddeutscher Rundfunk*, Herr Walbereiter and Herr Bausch pointed forward to new programme structures in which television companies would be aiming their broadcasting at specific groups in society and not just one amorphous televiewing mass.

But it would be necessary for Infratest to devise new precise methods of gauging the day-to-day response to this move if the different groups were to be more clearly delineated and served correspondingly.

At any rate viewers can no longer be considered a great unknowing mass of humanity totally unable to make up their own minds about what they like and dislike. They must no longer be misunderstood nor "abused" as Herr Heinrichs put it.

Reinald Merkert had opened the conference with "broadcasting correspondence", and called for didacticism, not as an ideological dictation of education but as an appropriate formulation of a clear self-understanding of programme planners, the latter to be not preceptors but the servants of the viewing public.

And Dietrich Schwarzkopf, the programme director of Norddeutscher Rundfunk, stressed the importance of television as a forum. Hans Bluhm suggested that broadcasting houses should be more like glasshouses than fortresses.

Viewers should be taken seriously as partners. Forms of meeting with the viewer must be found. More accurate information of the public is not so important in that respect as making television a meeting place and destroying its image of being a one-way traffic of information.

Whether this succeeds, and how, will decide the fate of television in the future. TV's monopoly on doling out information without due regard for recipients of that information is nearing the end. A new era of television can begin.

Fritz Hufen

(Die Welt, 6 October 1971)

Fewer fiction titles now appear in seasonal lists

It would be hard to find anybody who could read all the works in the German Library at Frankfurt. At the end of last year 541,402 titles were available, consisting of 795,580 volumes.

A person who is a gourmand as opposed to a gourmet, a person who has an insatiable appetite for the printed word, need not stop at books.

He will be able to find 33,560 volumes of bound periodicals attracting the dust in archives and 5,428 rolls of micro-film containing the contents of daily newspapers.

But eye-weary people with a thirst for knowledge need not give up so easily. There are 1,563 literary recordings to thrill their ears for quite some time.

After they have rested their eyes our readers can then turn to the publications of German universities – 187,602 volumes of them representing a long hard slog.

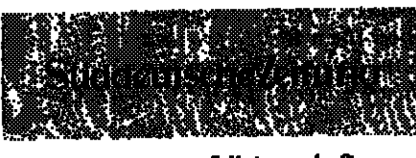
It might be a little more amusing afterwards to read the foreign-language works about Germany that have appeared abroad and translations from German, 15,706 volumes in all.

Last but certainly not least comes the literature of German emigrants amounting to 14,064 volumes. All in all, that makes a total of 1,380,000 volumes. Last year's increase was no less than 101,351 volumes.

How is this flood of knowledge and entertainment used? Last year the Deutsche Bibliothek loaned 127,939 volumes to more than 35,000 customers. Over 41,000 requests for information were received.

Nobody knows whether this desire to read is keeping pace with book production. It must have increased by leaps and bounds since the end of the war otherwise there could be no explanation for the continual rise in printed material.

If we divide the period from 1950 to 1970 into four parts and see how many of the 464,462 publications issued in



these twenty years fall in each five-year period we find we have a rapidly rising line beginning at 16.5 per cent for the first section and then rising continually up to the 36.5 per cent recorded for the final five-year period.

Book production is booming. But it would be wrong to believe that the bulk of this total is made up of detective stories, romances and similar inconsequential matters.

There have of course been various shifts in the structure of book production over the past twenty years but on the whole they have been negligible.

Creative literature, an umbrella term for all works that cannot be included in any other category, made up eighteen per cent of the total in 1951. Last year it was only a little over nineteen per cent. The lowest rate over the years has been fifteen per cent while the maximum recorded is 23 per cent.

This also helps disprove the argument that cheap paperbacks have only gained wide readership in one field. Scientific and academic works can also be found in paperback.

In other words, people's thirst for knowledge and information has kept pace with developments. Economic and social science, including statistics, takes up third place in total post-war book production with almost 31,000 titles.

Close behind follow law and administration with some thirty thousand books. Religion and biology are not far behind.

Is reading an expensive pastime? Taking the average retail prices and considering developments in 1970 and 1971, the price of books has just about tripled in the past twenty years. Compared with many other goods this is not too bad.

The price of a book is of course subject to divergence from the average. Some categories of book are expensive while others are cheap.

It is little wonder that the large medical and scientific works are by far the most expensive type of book. Art books too cost a lot. People wanting to spend only a little money on books should turn to literature and children's books.

But let us return to paperbacks. Four thousand new paperback titles were issued last year, a little less than sixty per cent them works of literature.

As the proportion of works of literature in post-war book production has scarcely risen, this seems to suggest that paperbacks are forcing hardbacks out of the market in this field.

It is surprising how many paperback works of literature are foreign in origin. Almost two thirds are translations, with English-language works making up the greatest proportion.

Otto Schwarzer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 October 1971)

■ EDUCATION

New grants legislation offers students support in more varied forms



Ever since the first Sputnik shocked Europe and America in the late fifties there has been no doubt about the importance of a broadly-based education system in providing a basis for maintaining the competitiveness and further economic development of an industrial nation.

In Europe and in the Federal Republic in particular discussions on our technological shortcomings have led to demands for a reform of the whole education set-up and the system of State support.

A typical product of this post-technological, revolution process is the controversial *Federal Education Promotion Law* that was passed by the Bundestag shortly before the summer recess and came into force on 1 October.

The SPD/FDP coalition government has described the law as an important step towards a comprehensive standardised system of giving support to individuals for educational purposes.

The first law of this type came into force in 1970, dealing with general education and career training. The new law now applies to students who were previously covered by the *Rhöndorf* and *Honnef* schemes that involved administrative agreements between central and local government.

The law should satisfy two main demands made by society – training qualified workers from the ranks of the socially underprivileged classes and the granting of a higher degree of equality of opportunity, thus overcoming any potential social problems.

More than 200,000 schoolchildren and 160,000 students are now having their education and living expenses covered by public money. Central and local government are splitting the costs 65 to 35. The estimated total for 1972 is 1,660 million Marks.

Any person being educated has a legal claim to State aid if the necessary money is not available from another source. The following categories of scholars and students are backed:

1. Scholars in the eleventh class of high school or over;
2. People attending evening educational courses including professional training colleges;
3. People at professional colleges demanding an intermediate school certificate or similar qualifications;
4. Students at vocational colleges;
5. Students at higher vocational colleges and academies;
6. University students;
7. People taking part in recognised courses of extra-mural study;
8. Those engaged in practical training courses.

The Federal Republic's special need of highly qualified scientific and technical workers is probably the reason why those people attending university and institutes of further education are the first to benefit from the State aid provided by the new law.

Career training is not covered for the time being. The government is considering whether the new system should also apply to this sphere, the largest in the whole education system.

No practical steps have been taken so far towards instituting such a change. In view of the general financial situation and the many unfulfilled promises of reform, the chances of a reform of educational grants over and above the stage now reached are probably very poor indeed.

The story behind the introduction of the new law shows that people concerned with an issue can exert a certain degree of influence if they unite to make their demands heard.

After the wave of protests against the first law governing educational grants, due to the fact that students more than any other group feared a material and political deterioration in their situation, the Social Democrats and Free Democrats passed a number of amendments improving the provisions of the law.

The *Studentenwerke* that were to be abolished in favour of State grant offices will now be allowed to continue their work until 1974. By then the government will have to have made its final decision on the matter.

Actual financial improvements in the new law are minimal when compared to the first grants regulations and the Honnef scheme. Pupils living at home will be entitled to 160 Marks a month instead of the previous total of 150 Marks.

People attending professional training colleges and evening educational courses receive 320 Marks instead of 300. Students at college not living at home receive four hundred instead of 380.

University students living at home have had their grants increased from 320 to 340 Marks a month. If they do not live at home they receive 420 Marks instead of 400. This money is normally given in grant form though in a few special cases it is provided wholly or partly as a loan.

The principle of financial support independent of family would be a great guarantee of equality of opportunity but it has not been put into practice, not even remotely.

Students accuse the Socialist-Liberal

Continued on page 9.

More money for education and science

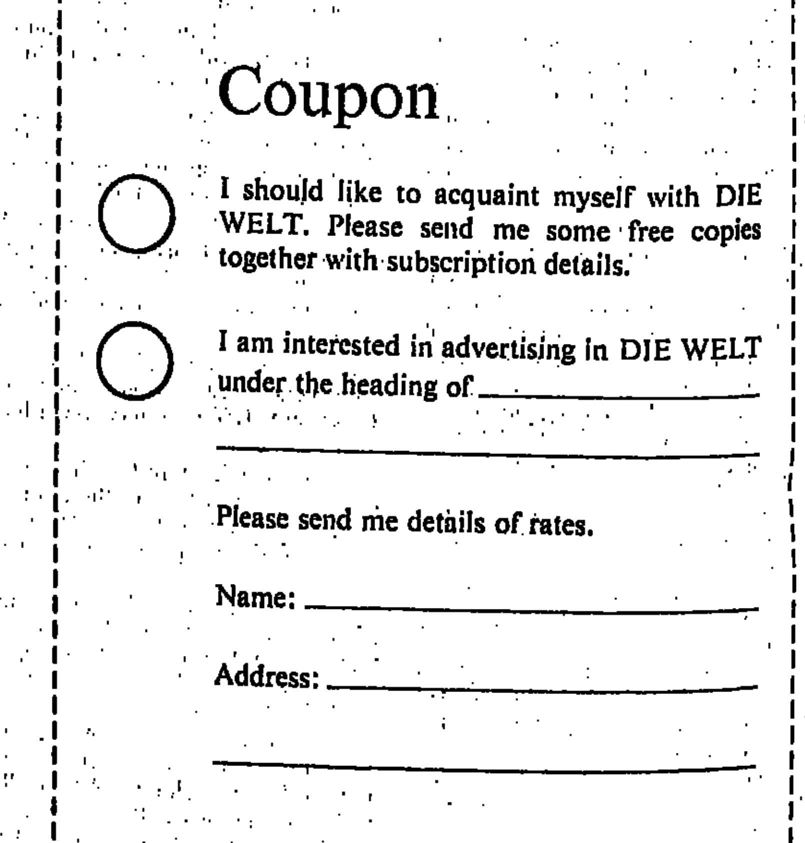
Additional money is to be provided for education and science in the Cabinet-approved plans for an extra budget to be implemented in 1972 if there is an economic slump.

The Ministry of Education and Science states that it will receive some sixty million Marks if this budget does in fact come into force.

This money will be spent on building student hostels, on educational institutes other than universities and on computer, data processing and new technological equipment.

Despite this additional shot in the arm the probable amount of money at the Ministry's disposal will still be more than 400 million Marks short of the original planned sum of 5,670 millions because of the budgetary cuts that have been undertaken.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 October 1971)



SCIENCE

Influencing the weather could have undesirable effects, Bonn professor claims

an has long dreamt of making his own weather but the phenomena with by meteorology are so ficated that we are only now beginning to understand some of the details.

dern-day meteorology applies the of physics, reduced to mathematical tions, to the phenomena, movements conversion of energy in the atmosphere.

Radar, measuring satellites and laser equipment are indispensible tools of the de. Specially programmed computers help provide 72-hour weather forecasts instead of the normal 36-hour ones though this is only true for the large-scale processes.

Hopes for better local weather forecasts have only partly materialised. Recording and analysing all the determinant factors still cause great difficulty.

Weather forecasts are considerably better than they were thirty years ago and scientists can make rain fall over a specific area by shooting silver iodide into clouds but the climate itself cannot be changed.

At the 36th Physicists Congress jointly organised in Essen by the Physics Society and the Association of Meteorological Societies a report by Professor Hermann Flohn of Bonn showed that meteorologists had observed effects that were clearly based on human influence.

The influence of industrialisation and the population explosion on the climate has not been considered up to now and is anyway only negligible.

But if current trends continue unchecked it will only take two or three generations before we reach the point where the effects will attain irreversible global proportions.

Because of the use of fossile fuels such as wood and coal the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased continually since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the troposphere, the layer of the atmosphere closest to the Earth, has become warmer, leading to a 2.2 degree centigrade rise in surface temperature.

A second and no less decisive factor is the emission of aerosol particles from industrial areas all over the world. The smaller particles of this type remain in the atmosphere, causing increased darkness.

This effect can be observed throughout the world and has increased by some fifty per cent since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The particles prevent the sun's rays from reaching the surface and this in turn causes a cooling-down process.

The continual rise in energy consumption also has a long-term effect on the climate. Hydro-electricity and geothermic energy are only conversions of natural energy but nuclear energy and the burning of coal, oil and gas represent an additional source of energy and, therefore, warmth.

This will increase more and more in the future if the growing world population is to be provided with food and water.

The industrial area in the Ruhr already forms an island of warmth. The average mean temperatures lie between 0.5 and 1 degree centigrade over those of the surrounding countryside, precipitation in the form of rain and showers is at least five per cent higher than in the surrounding areas while the total hours of sunshine and radiation is five to ten per cent too low. These differences are even more significant in winter.

Professor Flohn also mentioned the climatic changes due to the conversion of natural vegetation into agricultural areas.

About eleven per cent of the total land area of the world has been converted into arable land in the course of the past eight thousand years. About twenty per cent is used today as pasture land. That means that about a third of all available land in the world is no longer in its natural state.

Every year the Sahara spreads about half a mile northwards and southwards. This is not due to climatic changes but is a result of the over-exploitation of natural reserves including the exploitation of the fossile subsoil from the Ice Age



that is degenerating into a alarming condition and can no longer be added to.

Professor Flohn claims that there would be quite a different effect if for example the ice of the Arctic Sea were to be melted as was suggested a number of years ago.

The differences in temperature between the Equator and the Poles would then continue to decrease, in the warmer seasons of the year at least, and the subtropical high-pressure system and the existing dry belt would shift at least two hundred miles northward.

Weather on the northern edge of the Alps would be better in summer but the low amount of precipitation in the Mediterranean area and the whole subtropical winter rain zone (California, the Near East) would sink even lower.

If the high-pressure systems around the Azores were to shift northwards there would be a corresponding shift of the tropical rain zone over the Atlantic. This in its turn would probably increase the threat of drought in North Brazil.

Professor Flohn added that all these forecasts were only hypothetical. But these large-scale climatic inter-relationships can be tested today with the aid of science and work has begun on this in the United States, Russia, Britain, the Federal Republic and Japan. *Konrad Müller*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 October 1971)

Continued from page 8

tion of wanting to preserve the torical and anachronistic family ideology.

Minister Käte Strobel has assured them that the reason for this shortcoming is of a purely financial nature and has nothing at all to do with ideology.

That may sound plausible enough but it cannot satisfy critics. All educational reforms so far undertaken aim basically at providing economic support.

The aim of equality of opportunity and the individual's right to education — both principles are contained in Basic Law — secondary. The new education grants does little to alter the situation.

Udo Bergdoll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 September 1971)

Techology in the role of life-saver

Research work into the use of applied physics in medicine has become really important in recent years and has attracted the interest of scientists throughout the world.

Artificial hearts, kidneys, lungs and valves have helped lengthen the lives of many patients.

But cooperation between scientists and doctors is still in its infancy. It was industry that first gave the incentive. In 1968 the Volkswagen Foundation provided 3.5 million Marks for setting up a department of biomedical technology.

Eleven universities put forward proposals concerning this project. In view of the large amount of interest expressed the foundation doubled its grant and in 1969 awarded 3.5 million Marks to both Aachen Technical University and the University of Erlangen and Nuremberg to set up departments of this type.

Professor Max Schaldach has now taken up his post as head of the department of biomedical technology at the University of Erlangen and Nuremberg and recently invited the public to look round the first department of its kind in the Federal Republic.

The science, medicine and technology faculties are all represented in the new department. At present nine scientists, two engineers and four technicians are working there.

Four working groups are currently dealing with various problems in this field:

1. The inter-relationship between transplanted material and biological tissue. Coagulation mechanisms must be tested on materials in order to construct spare parts for the circulation as well as artificial lungs and kidneys.

2. Electro-chemical equipment must be developed for stimulating the heart and circulation. When researchers have found out how metal electrodes react during the stimulation process they will be able to develop electrical systems requiring a low amount of energy, thus lengthening the effective life of a heart pacemaker.

3. Suitable sources of energy such as the bio-galvanic elements and biological fuel cells that are already undergoing clinical tests must be developed for electro-stimulation and the operation of artificial organs.

Thirty-six patients have already been treated with heart pacemakers deriving their energy from the reaction of the equipment with the liquid of the body tissue.

Scientists at the department look upon the bio-galvanic process as an intermediate solution to the problem, as simple as this method may be. The work currently being undertaken is concentrated on the development of fuel elements.

4. New measurement procedures must be developed to control heart pumps and conserve organs. The use of such methods helps doctor's trace anomalies in diseases of the heart and circulation.

Some of these projects are already being tested in hospitals.

Hubert Neumann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 October 1971)

Cancer mortality rate jumps

Recent statistics show that one West German in five dies of cancer. Professor Schmidt, the head of the Cancer Association, stated in Hanover that deaths due to cancer have increased rapidly in recent years and now make up 20 to 25 per cent of all deaths.

Schmidt added that one alarming feature was the increase of bronchial and lung cancer due to smoking.

(Telegraf, 30 September 1971)

■ THE ECONOMY

Increased East Bloc trade will bring problems

In the quest for normalisation of relations with the East Bloc interested parties all too easily fall prey to the temptation to see trade with communist countries in a glorified light.

They forget in their enthusiasm that efforts to improve trade with these countries have been going on for a good twenty years and that politics and economics are subject to inner laws.

Since 1952 the Eastern Committee of the West German economy has been working as a joint organ of the leading associations in industry, trade and banking under an agreement with the Bonn government in order to provide better trade contacts with the communist world. On several occasions it has acted in proxy of the government, a classic example being the negotiating of the trade agreement with the People's Republic of China in the autumn of 1957.

Political changes have long since ceased to wreak changes in the economic setup. All too keen optimism only serves to warn off the other side.

Representatives of industry tend to have known each other for many years and can therefore carry on more or less continuous relationships which is far from being the case among politicians. In this respect the economic sphere carries on political pioneering work. Its inate realism is a protection against unfounded hopes if both sides calculate for the maximum benefit from and continuity of links.

In the fifties and sixties the main concern was for information concerning as complete as possible a list of goods, credit periods, and conditions of delivery.

Since then liberalisation of imports is eighty per cent higher with countries with trade agreements. In the case of the Soviet Union the General Agreement is to be complemented with a trade agreement following the previous one which expired in 1963. Supply and collection terms are largely standardised. In the second half of the sixties the Bonn government converted to long-term credit with corresponding guarantees.

Today effects of currency policies are coming to the fore even in trade with the East, with exports from this country becoming more expensive. There is keen competition from other Western European countries and North America not forgetting Japan.

To take an optimistic point of view the East is showing signs of a general economic reform. Even with regard to access to purchasers this should work towards a general recognition of the necessities. Precise conditions do not make things easier for representatives of firms. Last summer the Soviet Union allowed in the first West German delegation, this being from Hoechst dye works. A further dozen applications are at present on ice.

The Japanese have no fewer than 14 representatives there but they also have a trade agreement although the value of this should not be over-estimated.

West-German trade with the Soviet Union has more than doubled in the past seven years. Centralised planning, a completely State-run economy and unconvertible currencies still pose difficult problems for the West.

In the period 1971 to 1975 the Western world can only count on a maximum of thirty per cent of the East Bloc's foreign trade. Just how strong bilateral thinking is was proved by Rumania which once again showed an active balance of trade with the Federal Republic in the first six months of 1971. Foreign exchange obtained through tourism is no way out, and in Bulgaria and Rumania amounts to only five per cent of the foreign currency of the import-export trade.

Since the beginning of 1964 the East Bloc has given a strong recommendation for bilateral technical cooperation as an impulse for economic development. Since then cooperation by means of licences has become commonplace and of late technical and scientific cooperation in third party countries as well as the first steps towards joint production in Eastern partner countries has been observed.

The labour market and currency situation acts as an impulse for us. The East would also like to ameliorate its supply difficulties in this way, broadening the scope of its exports and saving on foreign exchange, since plant for joint production is paid for by production.

Major projects of joint production are also underway in Rumania and Bulgaria despite reports to the contrary and these countries have lately expressly given their blessing to outside countries sharing in capitalisation.

Protection of capitalisation, sales and technical leadership, salary and profit transfer, the status of foreign company members and the required freedom of movement must be created somehow in the near future if the attraction for West German partners is to be consolidated.

For this reason trade with the East as in the recent past will continue to grow at a slower rate than foreign trade generally. The planned establishment of Federal state bodies of the East Committee taking in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China is a sign of continued pioneering activity.

Finally Bonn should take up diplomatic relations with Peking so that trade with this potentially important partner does not flag. China could be the big hope.

Joseph Maria Hunck
(Handelsblatt, 8 October 1971)

Bank Rate cut is no answer

West German industry is making regular pilgrimages to the economic wailing-wall, largely driven there by the continued uncertainty on the currency scene. Wails are growing louder all the time for a lowering of Bank Rate and a cut in the level of minimum required reserves.

The measures, it is mooted, would be of benefit for the economic cycle. At the same time the not only moral pressure (Karl Schiller!) on the Bundesbank is growing, urging them to slacken the reins of restriction.

The Bank of Issue, or rather its top committee the *Zentralbankrat* is at present in a difficult situation the like of which has been none too common in its experience.

On the one hand the accusation that the Bundesbank is once again braking the economy to breaking point must be avoided. On the other hand there are important considerations speaking out against starting the economy going again.

Granted, orders from abroad are stagnating or even dropping in volume slightly and the demand for capital investment goods as opposed to consumer goods is declining and complaints about short-time working are becoming more vociferous. In this situation a cut in Bank Rate would have a very stimulating effect. Industry would be more prepared to make investments.

But the Bundesbank has to take the overall situation into account when making policy decisions. For example there is the price development. Experience has shown us that this plays a key role if not the decisive role in their calculations. And in this respect the trend is particularly worrying.

In such a situation a lower Bank Rate may not only prove an ambiguous signal, but may also pour oil on the fire.

And in the end currency speculation could flood this country with more thousands of millions of hot money, which — together with the sums already coming in through dollar purchasing by the Bundesbank — could once again inflate the amount of unwanted money in this country which has been so painstakingly reduced.

Indeed the members of the Central Bank Committee are not to be envied as they face the prospect of their next meeting. *Josef Rothe*
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 October 1971)

Rodenstock pleads for more reforms, fewer subsidies

Frankfurter Rundschau

It takes a fair degree of courage for a Federal German industrialist, let alone Professor Rodenstock, the head of the German Industries Institute, to come out quite openly in favour of a campaign to break through the undergrowth of the subventions jungle.

Not so much agricultural subsidies which receive so much attention, but those payments to industries for structural aid in new building programmes should be brought out into the daylight and studied as well as preservation subventions and other aid grants which are paid out at the expense of the general public and from which only a select few benefit.

The call to limit the scope of subsidies is in itself a dangerous case of playing with fire, for many a manager reckons State subsidies as a firm part of his company's income.

If these restrictions of subsidies were to be introduced in connection with redistribution of the company's productivity it would be even more remarkable.

What Professor Rodenstock is after is simply that State subsidies should be put towards certain reform plans, for instance in the sphere of education or in protection of the environment.

His call must have come to the attention of Dr Ehrenberg, State Secretary at the Labour Ministry, for after all he belongs to a group of Bonn Cabinet experts which has explored the whole subventions jungle and which will present its findings to the Cabinet at the end of the month.

Perhaps we will now see a line drawn through some of these subsidies and the end result might be a cut of more than the 500 to 800 million Marks that is being called "the highest possible cut" by the industrialists now that they have finally been brought round to discussing the tricky subject at all.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 October 1971)

Floating the Mark ignored political considerations

Since 9 May this year we have been watching a rare experiment: economic theory put to a large-scale public test. The practice of floating the Mark has given economic theoreticians a long-awaited chance to test their ideas in practice.

West German currency experts have never grown tired of pushing forward the idea of flexible exchange rates as a wonder cure for creeping inflation.

Back in their yearly report (1964/65) the Five Wise Men of the Bonn government's Committee of Experts presented the government with an economic survey in which a flexible exchange rate for the Mark was recommended as the best method of protecting the country from imported inflation.

Since then there has scarcely ever been a break in the discussions about revaluation and floating.

And in the end it was possible for the theoreticians to persuade the politicians to embark on floating. They blasted out their recommendation from the rooftops in the middle of a currency crisis ably backed up by the five institutes for economic research. As hot money flooded in at a time when there was already spring tides all objections to a freeing of the rate of exchange were swept away.

Well, have the great expectations of the theoreticians been fulfilled? Has the state of the market now provided us with the "right" rate of exchange? Is the Federal Republic now really protected against world inflation?

The answer is No. Even Professor Karl Schiller the Economic Affairs and Finance Minister, a wholehearted supporter of floating and as such a reliable witness, has been complaining that the revaluation effect has been too strong. And even this upvaluing of the Mark has not protected this country from a further flood of speculative money. Hot money is still pouring in and stoking up the inflationary fire.

Why then does this theoretically so perfect measure fall down in practice? The answer is that the learned professors excluded the political realities from their calculations.

This is shown clearly in the unrealistic idea that it is possible to isolate from the rest of the world in such an important sphere a country such as the Federal Republic whose destiny is so closely interwoven with that of many other countries in the spheres of economics, politics and military matters.

Obviously no theoretician ever supposed that a president of the United States would reach his currency policy decisions with a schoolbook in his hand rather than with an eye to his chances at the next presidential elections.

The proponents of freely moving rates of exchange are particularly proud of the way this measure corresponds to the ideals of a private enterprise economy.

What they have failed to understand is that the more fundamental causes of the crisis are not of an economic, but of a political nature and that therefore they have been fighting the battle with the wrong type of weapons.

Even good clean floating is no weapon to be used for fighting the dirty war in Vietnam, one of the reasons for the weakness of the dollar. No one would dispute this fact.

So there is scarcely anyone today who is not looking forward to a rapid end of this experiment and a return to fixed parities. Unfortunately this is not as simple to bring about as was the destruction of the old system.

The most important thing to be learnt from this experiment is that economic theories must take political elements into account if they are to be practicable. Otherwise they will lead to bad decisions.

Michael Jungblut
(Die Zeit, 8 October 1971)

■ EMPLOYMENT

Schwarzarbeit legislation continually flouted

DIE ZEIT

In the small-ads pages of West German daily papers every day citizens of this country openly advertise their services in the perpetration of illegal acts. For instance: *Bricklayer carries out repair work in spare time. Tel: . . .* or *Let me lay your fitted carpets* or *PVC coverings as spare-time work. Tel: . . . .* or *Electrician takes out odd jobs around the house. Box No: . . . .* or *Bricklayer and building worker seek spare-time jobs. Box No: . . . .*

Work of this kind offered in this way is regarded as a criminal offence, known here as *Schwarzarbeit* (black-work).

Anyone who for reason of personal profit shall carry out services or jobs for others to any major extent without notifying the Labour Office, without registration in the list of craftsmen shall be subject to a fine, according to the Law for the Prevention of Black-work, of March 1957.

Nobody is particularly happy with the provisions of this law and it has scarcely proved the downfall of anybody. Like many other laws that come into being in an election year this piece of legislation was intended as a gift to a group that could benefit from it. But the craftsmen consider it a bad piece of legislation.

As a matter of fact since the law was introduced with its five paragraphs, three of which are concerned with conditions under which the law may be exercised, the nature and extent of *Schwarzarbeit* has altered but little.

Odd jobs for pin money will always be done with or without preventative legislation. According to the working committee of the Consumers Association, "when the economic cycle is at its peak, when working hours are shortened and when there is a shortage of staff in the craft industries the public turns to odd-jobbers to get little jobs done around the house."

Painters, hairdressers, electricians, installers, building workers and radio and television repair men are among the main groups providing such services illegally.

Representatives of the crafts reckon that each year there are total earnings of around five thousand million Marks from black-working, which amounts to a loss of something like two thousand million Marks for the taxman.

The Bonn government is more conservative in its estimates. Answering a question in the House from CSU Bundestag member Albert Schedl on how effective the law was the former State Secretary at the Bonn Ministry of Labour, Walter Auerbach, simply shrugged his shoulders.

So many people are enjoying such a large turnover from black-working that no remotely reliable figures could be drawn up for the amount of illegal odd-jobbing that is carried out or the losses that are thus incurred by the tax and social security offices.

Judges and the authorities also show a remarkable degree of leniency in their treatment of *Schwarzarbeit*. A governmental director attached to the Hamburg authority for economics and transport records an enormous degree of antipathy to the law among officials, judges and members of the public and poses the question whether something more is being made out of this legislation that it actually entails.

He has looked at the reverse side of the coin: "Attempts to find a man to do a craftman's job around the house are not always immediately successful. I myself have been waiting since last year for the slater to come and fix my roof."

As for the bosses in the craftsman industries, they are unable to deny that they not only turn a blind eye towards their employees' doing work on the side for extra money, but even lend them materials and tools.

A representative of the Chamber of Crafts in Hamburg said: "The state of the labour market and the economy lead to this notorious situation."

So no one is satisfied with this law and the way it is working. Former State Secretary Auerbach admitted: "When this law was formulated it was fully realised that it would be a failure."

Representatives of the crafts have noted that this legislation against black-working is only taken up by the public prosecutor on very rare occasions.

Those who formulated the law did not make life easy for the judges who were supposed to implement it. The legislation does not even specify what *Schwarzarbeit* is.

Phrases such as "for reason of personal profit" and "to any major extent" can be twisted and bent to mean many things and are therefore difficult to pinpoint in law.

In addition to this, black-work has to be differentiated from legally permissible jobs done out of kindness for neighbours, jobs done as a favour or to return one, or jobs done simply for one's own personal benefit, none of which could be outlawed.

Thus most black-workers who are caught are prosecuted for other reasons, such as infringing the regulations of their trade, failing to register on the list of craftsmen or tax evasion. Claims for damages to property and endangering persons are treated under civil law, not criminal law, whether they arise from illicit or legal labour.

Black-workers and those who employ them should be clear in their minds, as the working group of the Consumers Association points out, that they are running risks. Illicit odd-jobbing is a particular problem when the work involves dangers to the general public, especially when it is carried out by workmen who are not qualified for the type of job they have undertaken.

As far as bricklaying, installing gas and electrical equipment and tinkering with cars is concerned even the proponents of abolition of the law against *Schwarzarbeit* are strongly opposed to any liberalisation.

They come out in favour of obligatory documentation of qualifications to carry out this kind of potentially dangerous work, while stressing that simple jobs carrying no risks are a different matter altogether.

The history of legislation to prevent jobs on the side, Gunter Friebe says in his dissertation on the subject, begins about 1950. Since then the fors and againsts have not come up with many new arguments to support their case.

The first call to the government to introduce a law against illicit labour came from the parliamentary section of the *Deutsche Partei* in 1950 and was rejected by the Ministry of Labour.

The reasons they gave were that there was no call for a special law to cover this situation and laws already in force were sufficient. The Ministry feared that new legislation of this kind would put an impossible burden on the shoulders of the administrative and legal apparatus.

A painter working on Saturday — and he probably will not declare the earnings
(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

But those in favour of such legislation showed a great deal of patience. In 1952 the Minister of Labour, Anton Storch (CSU), told the House that there were close ties "above all with representatives of craftsmen's organisations who have a particular interest in this question" and it was hoped that a law could be brought into force "that would make it impossible for major swindlers to indulge in black-working . . ."

Thus the legislation was formulated, a job that was completed in 1957.

But that was not the end of the quarrels about the way the law was formulated. In fact the very opposite was true. It was quickly realised by all concerned that the Law could not stop illicit odd-jobbing.

When rising wages and a higher level of employment had taken away the first flush of *Schwarzarbeit* a new move started. With the slogan "Dad belongs at home on Saturday" the unions began fighting for the five-day week. Materialistic desires, such as a telly, fridge and car made Dad take to the brush, trowel and screwdriver in his spare time.

Bild Zeitung dubbed Saturday 'Germany's day of illegal odd-jobbing'. But the mass-circulation paper defended its readers' claim to their own economic miracle with headlines such as: "We can't live without a few jobs on the side".

The root of all evil, the craftsmen then discovered was the 45-hour working week. But its appeals were lost amid the Saturday morning chorus of hammering, chiselling and sawing. Even Konrad Adenauer's attack on the free Saturday with its black-working fell on deaf ears. The Chancellor said, "This considerable reduction in the working week was not necessary" in his statement of government policy of October 1962, "since it has been used by workmen to a large extent to carry out illicit working."

Ten years after the introduction of the unpopular legislation — 1967 — the craftsmen drew up a balance sheet, which came to bitter conclusions.

The Central Association of West German Craftsmen stated: "Experiences so far with the law against black-working show that its effect has been as good as nil." Their conclusion was that the law should be amended.

A similar balance sheet was drawn up in the same year by the Council of Bad Harzburg District Court, although the conclusion they drew from the facts was different.

They stated: "Justice becomes a kind of lottery if certain *Schwarzarbeiter* are punished and others get off scotfree. Black-working has now become virtually respectable as a result of its commonness, especially as everyone knows that it has become a general practice carried out regularly by many thousands of people." With this they dismissed charges against three apprentice painters.

Their decision was later reversed by Brunswick Regional Court, which ruled that ten years of atrophy of this law still had not made a case for introducing a prescriptive right.

Even now, after fourteen years, the chances seem little better. The present Justice Minister, Gerhard Jahn, plans to tackle Schwarzarbeit in his package of legal reforms. It is not likely to be "thrown overboard as unnecessary ballast," as the working group of the Consumers Association recently demanded, however.

The spokesman of this organisation, Wolfgang Glöckner said: "If legislators persist in refusing to deal with this matter they might at least take *Schwarzarbeit* off the criminal statute book and classify it as a contravention of regulations."

West German craftsmen would be satisfied with such a move, too. Instead of being charged as a criminal, fined and having their name entered in the criminal register illegal odd-jobbers should face a hefty fine of something in the region of 20,000 or 30,000 Marks, they claim.

This kind of sum has also been suggested by the Ministry of Labour, which is responsible for dealing with this matter. Nevertheless higher fines will not necessarily mean automatically that the law will be implemented any the more rigourously.

According to the present plans the law is likely to pass into the new statute book unchanged in 1973 with all its vague formulations. We have had fourteen years experience of how this law works. *Schwarzarbeit* will therefore remain a fact of life in our society. *Gunhild Freese*
(Die Zeit, 8 October 1971)

Executives come from a closed society

Hesse Radio recently stated that "company bosses in the Federal Republic are a homogeneous bunch and cut off from the outside world, recruiting their successors largely from their own ranks."

Dr Peter Zürn, senior adviser at PA Management Consultants in Frankfurt has come up with statistics that refute this allegation.

A survey of about 2,000 company managers, either employed or self-employed, in the Federal Republic showed that one third of managers come from a household where their parents was a civil servant and only one in four comes from the so-called upper middle-classes.

About forty per cent come from a lower middle-class background and eight per cent had blue-collar workers for fathers. Dr Zürn said: "The group is very open, with horizontal and vertical mobility."

(Handelsblatt, 24 September)

■ **TRAVELLING**

2.5 million caravans expected to be on the roads by 1985

Waggons roll is the clarion call as increasing numbers of campers and caravanners take to the roads. They stick together all over the world but from the jaundiced viewpoint of other road-users seem to spend most of their time en route to their holiday destination.

Many are a genuine nuisance on the roads too. Drivers inexperienced in handling the combination set out in small cars to haul huge caravans to their holiday haunts.

Yet trials as held by Tabbert, the caravan manufacturers, on the Nürburgring have shown that a sensible combination of a powerful car and a reasonably-sized caravan can easily keep pace with traffic and not get in the way even on autobahn gradients.

Many caravanners travel abroad for their holidays. There are millions of them and only 1,400 camping sites in this country. According to the guide issued by ADAC, the motoring organisation, the average site is four and a quarter acres, sufficient for 170 caravans.

So this country can cater for 250,000 tents and caravans at most. During the summer holidays campers and caravanners indeed have little alternative but to head for the Adriatic, the Swedish islands, the Bay of Biscay, Hungary and the like.

A few years ago caravans were felt to be put to little use if they were not sited and used in the off-season over long weekends somewhere not far from town.

Manufacturers of the latest in cut-price models have deliberately set their sights at a new category of customer, the family that buys an inexpensive caravan because it only uses it for four weeks during the summer.

Price-undercutting is so drastic that many manufacturers market models with poor ventilation. There are caravans costing not far short of 8,000 Marks that have only two windows that can be opened and toilets with only a skylight.

Most caravans sleeping four badly ventilate their ten and a half cubic yards of accommodation. More windows and roof ventilation are, of course, available as optional extras but salesmen then generally try to sell customers larger models.

It is no secret that competition is so fierce that fittings are reduced to a minimum. One of the most important victims is the twelve-volt interior light, which is an absolute necessity.

Many models boast five or six 220-volt lamps but only one twelve-volt fitting.

Yet camping sites in Norway, England, Sweden and Hungary next to never have mains electricity for each caravan.

Double glazing, sliding doors, TV consoles and ample luggage space are most in demand. It is gratifying to note that many manufacturers have improved chassis rustproofing and are fitting all models with automatic anti-backsliding devices.

The future of caravanning in this country depends to a large extent on whether or not there is going to be a sufficient number of sites available. Already there are 250,000 caravans; by 1975 there will be 400,000.

This upward trend is likely to continue even in the event of ready cash no longer being so readily available.

Comparison with statistics from other, neighbouring countries backs up optimistic forecasts. In this country there are fourteen to fifteen caravans per thousand private cars registered; in France there are twenty to 22, in Belgium more than thirty and in Holland more than fifty.

In an article in *Esso Magazine* mention was recently made of an estimate by market researchers to the effect that by 1985 more than two and a half million caravans, ten times the present number, will be on the books of the motor vehicle registration office in Flensburg.

A number of leading caravan manufacturers have built camping sites and ploughed millions into them. Model sites have also been built by the Deutsche Camping Club and the ADAC.

Caravanners feel nonetheless that this is not enough, with 35,000 to 40,000 newcomers clamouring for accommodation every year.

On the one hand caravanners would like to see more sites in the open country; on the other the regulations for camping sites are growing steadily stricter.

It cannot be denied that camping sites are often an eyesore and leave much to be desired in the way of hygiene too.

Draft regulations for comping sites in the Aachen region stipulate 150 washbasins, sixty showers, 500 dustbins, 1,000 fire extinguishers and 45 toilets per 500 caravans. A splendid idea, but easier said than done, of course.

Camping sites, caravanners themselves say, are part of our leisure life, a meeting place for people of different origins, age and country. Their aim must be to help to relieve the stress and strain of modern living.

Caravanning, opponents of the "movement" claim, is merely an unsuccessful attempt to cart around a few square yards of countryside idyll along with the car with a capital "C" – the average German's pride and joy.

Unless the countryside is to be overwhelmed campers and nature conservationists must certainly get together.

(Die Welt, 8 October 1971)

MBB and BMW develop depollution system

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, [...] aerospace concern, and BMW, [...] motor manufacturers, have jointly [...]veloped the MBB-Tox exhaust depo[...]tion system.

Research and development work o[...] clean exhaust system for combus[...] engines has been in progress since the [...] of 1969, according to MBB of Ottobr[...] near Munich.

A special exhaust measurement te[...] has been developed and a contract [...] with a well-known inventor.

Endurance trials are under way at [...] and Essen TÜV (the government-spons[...]ed agency responsible for conduct[...] two-years tests on motor vehicles) has be[...] commissioned to carry out a survey [...] results of which will be submitted to [...] Ministry of the Interior and other auth[...]rities by MBB as soon as they [...] available.

The main component of the [...] pollution device is an insert between [...] carburettor and the intake tube.

Additional air is not pumped into [...] mixture. The air for the mixture is f[...] the carburettor at nearly the speed [...] sound, thus ensuring that the fuel [...] thoroughly atomised.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 11 September 19[...])

Hamburg rejects electric buses

Electric buses are non-starters in Hamburg, transport department specialists have decided after two days spent observing the progress of two trial models on normal routes.

Their batteries, which weigh tons, and their limited range are such serious handicaps that conventional diesel-engined buses are still far more effective. Indeed, the experts ruled, electric buses at present do not stand an earthly chance of coping with commuter traffic.

The two trial models, built by Mercedes and MAN respectively, are not much different from conventional models to look at. Instead of diesel engines they are merely powered by electric current from batteries.

The four-ton set of batteries are housed underneath the Mercedes bus. In the MAN model the batteries are housed in a two-wheel trailer.

The batteries were the main bone of contention in the course of the two-day trials. A single charge is sufficient for thirty to 35 miles on the road, the Mercedes model being able to stretch the limit a little with the aid of an auxiliary diesel engine and a generator.

The trial route was 34 miles long and in theory both buses ought to have been able to traverse it once. In practice only the Mercedes bus managed the feat by resorting to its auxiliary diesel for 25 per cent of the time.

Passengers felt the diesel engine to be unpleasantly noisy and louder than the diesel engines of conventional buses. The electric motor was by no means quit either.

In comfort and acceleration the electric buses compared well with conventional diesel models, though, and the batteries took two hours to recharge as claimed.

The MAN bus did not last the distance. On the return journey the engine grew noticeably feebler and sooner than grind to an inevitable halt the driver decided to eject the passengers and head for the depot.

The recharge unit at the depot wa[...] steel container the size of commerci[...] containers as used in shipping. The driv[...] parked up alongside this container, the [...] empty battery was rolled out of th[...] trailer into the container and the full o[...] rolled into the trailer.

This operation was a success but look[...] so complicated that onlookers shook [...] their heads in disbelief.

The batteries cost some 40,000 Marks [...] and have a life expectancy of 1,500 [...] recharges or so, which is equivalent to a [...] life-span of twelve to eighteen months. [...] Recharge units and containers cost extra, [...] of course.

Both buses, one specialist concluded, [...] are unsuitable, for normal urban traffic [...] and daily distances of between 200 and [...] 250 miles.

Electric buses will not be an interesting [...] proposition until smaller and more effi[...]cient batteries are available and this, the [...] industry says, will take years.

In the meantime both trial models [...] left Hamburg für their home bases in the [...] same manner as they came – by rail.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 September 19[...])

Science Ministry technologists see little future for the train

Technologists at the Science Ministry reckon that rail traffic will be the principal means of long-distance transport within Europe. Conventional railways will peak at 200 miles an hour but supersonic air travel is hardly an economic proposition in Europe.

The Ministries of Science and Transport in Bonn have accordingly joined forces to develop high-performance rail systems.

Last spring a magnetic hoverail train was unveiled by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm in Munich with Minister of Transport Georg Leber present.

Science Minister Hans Leussink will shortly attend the unveiling of another experimental system developed by Krauss-Maffei in Munich.

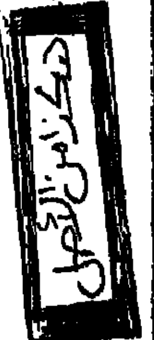
Specialists from both Ministries feel that electromagnetic high-speed rail systems stand a better chance of making the grade but work on the air cushion principle is to continue.

A decision on one or other of the [...] is to be taken in Bonn within the [...] year and a half or two years. The first [...] or fifteen miles of experimental track [...] expected to be inaugurated in 1973. The [...] Federal government is to invest roughly 100 million Marks in the project.

At the Ministry of Science it is hoped that trials of a prototype train can be held in the second half of this decade. Regular services will not be possible until the early eighties.

This country hopes to reach agreement on the introduction of some such [...] system on a uniform basis all o[...] Europe.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 October 19[...])



OUR WORLD

Bonn at night may not be Soho but it still has much to offer

Who likes to live in Bonn with the exception of lobbyists, politicians and journalists, of course? Nightlife in the West German capital is dismissed with the riposte, "Sorry, but tonight the lady is in Cologne!" People in this country know that the only thing that can be seen round the parliament complex are a few government officials, a few diplomats, black official limousines and of course the usual herd of tourists bored to death.

Is that really what Bonn is like? Most Germans are of the view now as ever that it is wonderful to be by the Rhine during the day and in the evening but it is hopeless by night. As an ordinary mortal one could not expect to be invited to the exclusive press ball on 5 November. Is that really Bonn? Fortunately Bonn's cuisine is not dependent on these prejudices and in this respect the Federal capital does have something to offer.

Everything is there. Sole Nantua or a duck Bigarade at the Godesberg restaurant *Maternus*, run by Ria Ahlsen, who greets her VIP clients with a kiss on the cheek. Nearby there is the *Michaeli Stuben* which opens at six after much knocking on the door. In between these two there is the jewel of Bonn's restaurant list, the *Gasthof zum Adler*.

In Bad Godesberg there is the *Café Kranzler* which serves the best cakes between Frankfurt and Düsseldorf — posibly only equalled by the cakes that can be bought at the *Café Krümmling* at the Bonn railway station, which some people prefer.

The *Ristorante Grand' Italia* has been established at the historical inn *Ruland* near to the Rathaus. It was in this inn that the song "Der Mai ist gekommen" (May is here) by Emanuel Geibel was first sung.

Not far from the Rhine Bridge there is the *Dalmatien*, a restaurant specialising in dishes from the Balkans and Austria.

People who want to get a close-up of well known political figures in this country should make their way to the new *Steigenberger Hotel* (opposite the Palais Schaumburg). There he will find on the eighth floor the Ambassador Club where he will make a dent in his wallet but not always please his palate.

There is an air of a capital city on the terraces of the *Königshof Hotel* and the *Cäcilienhöhe Ristorante* in Godesberg, much used by FDP politicians, and the restaurant in tthe Bundeshaus, the *Wolkenkratzer* which, however, is only open to the public when there are no Bundestag sessions.

Journalists tend to hang out at the *Restaurant am Tulpenfeld* in the government quarter of the city. A quick peek into the old Bundeshaus pubs is only worthwhile when the Bundestag is in session. If you want to see connoisseurs at work you should look in at President Gustav Heinemann's old haunt, the *Rheinlust*.

Still to be seen although restored is the *Dreesen* on the Rhine in Godesberg, where Hitler and British Premier Chamberlain met, the *China Restaurant* in the Bonngasse where Beethoven's house is, frequented by Franz Josef Strauss, and the *Godesberg*, destroyed in 1563 but restored in 1960 as a building of historical importance.

There are more than enough wine cellars, pubs and student pubs not famous for their exquisite cuisine but good enough. The famous wine cellar *Streng*, a watchword for good eating for many decades, has had to give way to a grilled chicken restaurant, *Wienerwald*, and Bad Godesberg's historically famous *Ännchen* has had to make way for a new road.

Alter Hut, the pubs *Em Höttche, Im Stiefel* and *Im Bären*, all in the old quarter of Bonn are all worth a visit, along with the wine cellar *Jacobs*. On the Venusberg there is *Casselsruhe* with a view over the Rhine. Young people in Bonn patronise *Zum alten Kanzler* in the Bonn Center.

Visitors to Bonn naturally make use of these places along with the politicians who work there for they like to drink a glass of beer or wine as well. But if you want to go to the theatre you must go to Cologne. Must you?

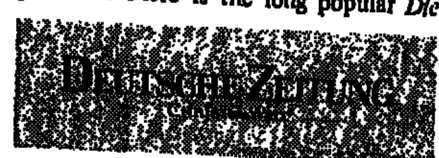
Arriving in Bonn along the road from Frankfurt the visitor will see of the Rhine Bridge the *Theater der Stadt Bonn* with its distinctive roof. And in the basement of the baroque Residenz, which is now a part of the University, there is the intimate theatre *Contra-Kreis*. And in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, famous for its Roman department and a must for all visitors, there is the *Theater der Jugend* In the Fürstenstrasse the *Theater Central* has been established.

There are two other intimate theatres, the *Theater in Bonn-Center* and the Kleines Theater in the Bad Godesberg station building. The Stadttheater Bad Godesberg is a favourite with companies from Berlin.

And Bonn by night. Are the complaints justified? Is it really necessary for VIPs and hippies, students and snobs, lonely drinkers and courting couples to retire at the stroke of twelve? They can also get their money's worth. There are dozens of nightclubs, bars, discotheques and pubs, that are not limited to the normal closing hours. The *CD Night Club* and *Eve* where strippers perform have been in operation ever since the rumour that Bonn was boring started the rounds.

There are also good cabarets to be seen at the *Carlton* as well as at the *Datscha*, *Anonym* and *Big Ben Pub*. In the Beuel suburb of the city there is the much-talked-about *Montmartre* and a good tip for any visitor is the Chalet Juliette in the Bonn-Center. But entertainment is nowhere cheap, as in other major cities.

Young people in Bonn meet in the evenings at the *Kiste* or the *Kerze*. If you want to go where the beat is loud there are any number of discotheques but in particular there is the long popular *Die Falle* and the recently opened *Club Zamanphas*.



And there are plenty of girls to dance with for it must be remembered that Bonn is supposed to be the city in West Germany with more girls than men living in it. The girls are just as keen for a little excitement as girls in any other city in this country.

If a visitor hopes to find a girl suffering from loneliness there are the discreet tea dances held at the *Hotel Dreesen* or on the terraces overlooking the Rhine at the *Beethovenhalle*, which is mainly given over to party conferences and balls.

The famous Beethoven Festival takes place here as well as regular concerts for Bonn is justly proud of its musical life.

So if a visitor is bored at night in Bonn that person would be just as bored in Munich or Hamburg, although it must be agreed that in Bonn nightlife is not so hectic as it is in say Soho or on the Boulevard Saint Michel. But in Moscow it is fairly cheerless at night! *Klaus Kessler*

(Deutsche Zeitung, 1 October 1971)



Pavement cafe in Bonn's centre (Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

Not enough attention paid to the protection of trees and woodland

For the forester the woods are the place where he carries on his occupation, for the city-dweller the woods are where he goes for rest and relaxation, for the hunter the woods are where he can enjoy the excitements of the chase, for lovers the woods are holy halls where they can pass romantic hours, for biologists the forests are where it all happens."

Karl Escherich, a Munich forester, so described the different approaches made to the forests and woods of this country.

In the 1971 report issued by the West German Research Association entitled "Environmental Research" it was stated clearly and unequivocally: "In heavily industrialised areas the importance of forests and woodland has been superseded by the forests' social and hygenic functions. These include purification of waters and air, protecting water supplies, protection against erosion and landslides and providing holiday areas for people coming from polluted areas.

"Woods and forests have become an increasingly important element in environmental planning."

But today forests that themselves give protection are now in need of protection themselves. Speaking at a forestry conference entitled "Forestry Conservation — Countryside Conservation" Herr Lamerdin, head of the forestry department in Baden-Württemberg state Agriculture Ministry said that in the next few years the fight against "those who devour our forests" would have to be waged with greater intensity.

He pointed out that since the end of the Second World War there had only been a two per cent increase in forest lands in this country and that in the proximity to large cities, where forests and woods were most urgently needed there had been a decline in land covered with woods. In some cases these had disappeared. And there was evidence that these wooded areas would continue to disappear.

Forests, which cover 29 per cent of the land area of West Germany, are loved and visited as never before.

Herr Lamerdin pointed out that public awareness of the value of forests and woods would grow so strong in the next ten years that there would be a public outcry if the forest wealth of this country were harmed in any way.

Trees are not chopped down just to provide timber. Forests are in direct competition with industry. Plastics have in many instances replaced wood, so forests are in themselves no longer productive of wealth.

But the value of trees cannot be computed in figures, for they serve an important function in cleansing waters and the air, regulating the climate and making beautiful areas for relaxation. But the destructive spread of cities is not the only menace to woodlands. There is also a profit-motivated factor.

For instance in the Harz mountains many multi-storeyed hotels, apartment blocks, swimming pools and ice rinks, shooting halls and archery clubs have been erected to attract clients with big pockets. Critics have raised up protests. They have attacked moves that "urbanise" the countryside and create a "Manhattan in the Harz".

These critics, including officials of nature protection associations, Harz clubs, associations for environmental protection in Brunswick as well as lecturers and officials of the Göttingen University have pointed out in a pamphlet "Call to save the Harz countryside", that the Harz should remain an unspoiled beauty spot, an area where people can go for relaxation in the midst of valuable natural beauty and undisturbed moorland.

There is much talk of building a stretch of autobahn in the south-west of the Harz. Professor Ernst Presing, among other things an adviser for environmental protection and means of protecting the countryside in the Lower Saxony state government commented: "People who come from the cities to the Harz looking for peace and relaxation will find the same conditions there as those prevailing at home — noise, heavy traffic, air polluted with exhaust fumes and other disturbing influences brought about by tourism."

The once characteristic German forests of oak, beech and mixed species which thrive on fertile ground have had to give way over the centuries to meadows and ploughed land. What has remained or has been specially planted by Man is forests which often have only one type of tree, so called monoculture which is often restricted to pine trees.

The wild life in such forests has also been reduced with regard to the number of species. This remaining corner of nature which always bears witness to Man's interference should not be completely destroyed by road-building and the extension of cities on the one hand and opening up to mass tourism on the other.

Primeval forests are now almost non-existent in the Western world. It is only in lower Austria on the chalky slopes of the Alps that we can see remains of primeval forests that have never been affected by Man's interference.

Gerhard Taube

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 3 October 1971)

SPORT

Sports Aid suspected of being a form of doping with Marks

With less than a year to go to the Munich Olympics sport in this country is called into question. The Sports Aid Foundation in particular has come in for harsh criticism. Mail order magnate and Olympic show-jumping medallist Josef Neckermann, the man whose idea grants for athletes from the funds of a charitable foundation was, visualised the Foundation as a means of self-help. As often as not it is felt by the recipients to be an intolerable taskmaster.

At the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City this country won 25 medals. Some of them were undoubtedly due in part to an organisation set up only a year before as a friend in need. The Sports Aid Foundation helped athletes financially to the tune of a million Marks in the pre-Olympic season.

Since then the amount of money that has been ploughed into sport in the form of grants for promising athletes has reached a level of 23 million Marks.

Twenty-three million Marks have been paid in grants to top-flight athletes and invested in steak, training facilities and travel.

"Were it not for the Sports Aid Foundation we would all be on the rocks," says Liesel Westermann, ex-discus world record holder, Leverkusen primary school teacher and one of this country's prospects of medals at Munich, the immediate target the Foundation set itself to promote.

Josef Neckermann, chairman of the Foundation, put the point in no uncertain terms last year:

"With two years to go to the Olympics sport in this country is more badly in need of assistance than ever before. Opportunities missed in the past we can no longer afford to neglect.

"Sporting success has come to be regarded as the criterion of a country's performance and society feels that the best among it, including top-flight athletes, represent the country as a whole. Society is thus under an obligation to provide such assistance as is necessary to ensure success."

Top-flight swimmers nowadays need to spend four or five hours a day in the water in order to be able to keep abreast of international competition.

Hans Fassnacht of Mannheim is undergoing a mammoth training programme in California, where he has the benefit of the best climatic, technical and educational conditions.

Weight-lifters who do not lift tons of iron a day for hours at a time and develop unnatural amounts of muscle can never hope to win Olympic honours.

"Training aimed at peak performance makes it virtually impossible to earn a normal living at the same time," national champion Rudolf Mang noted in a letter to the Sports Aid Foundation.

Mang was in the Foundation's bad books for having revealed in a TV interview that the grant he receives from the Foundation amounts to 1,080 Marks a month.

His final comment on the television screen was that "If it were up to me I would sooner refuse the grants supplied by the Foundation. I cannot imagine where this is all going to lead to and what is going to become of me."

This was a year ago and weight-litter Mang's confession for the first time made the public sit up and take notice of the psychological repercussions of athletes' grants, a topic previously given little or no thought.

Over the past year more and more athletes have complained about the pressure to compete to which they feel themselves subject.

"A bronze medal is no longer worth the metal it is stamped in," a young oarsman lamented after this year's European championships at which this country only won one event. "Only gold counts."

Josef Neckermann promptly countered that "A third place counts too, but above all and first and foremost we must try to do best and win the gold medal. If, despite hard work and a good showing gold is not to be won no one is going to be accused of not pulling his weight."

Yet one still wonders to what extent Neckermann's Sports Aid Foundation has robbed top-flight competitive sport of the vestiges of amateurism and the feeling that to have taken part is more important than to have won.

Is there not a good deal of truth in the assertion that sport is no longer a matter of free will and more of an armoury in in international ersatz warfare?

Once Chancellor Willy Brandt had on more than one occasion approved of the Foundation it could be sure of approval by all and sundry.

Mail-order magnate Neckermann had assembled an impressive collection of reasons why the Foundation was indispensable. In the final analysis, Neckermann noted, it was a matter of competition between social systems and "in socialist countries athletes have long had the benefit of first-rate support."

This was a fair assessment of the situation on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Neither in the GDR nor in the Soviet Union do top-flight athletes need to lift a finger outside the arena to earn a living.

Everyone knows that in socialist countries professions such as "student" or "officer" are mere sinecures and that athletes earn their living on the basis of performance in their chosen discipline. The better their performance, the higher their bonus.

This is no doubt the reason why the GDR press has fired broadsides at Sports Aid in this country but has yet to score a direct hit. Shamateurs in glass houses cannot afford to throw stones.

It can hardly be denied that the systems in both countries are so fashioned as just, and only just, to comply with the letter of the outmoded amateur code.

In Frankfurt, the headquarters of both the Federal Republic Sports League and the Sports Aid Foundation, care is taken to assure all and sundry that the amateur code is strictly adhered to, and officials in Leizig and East Berlin are equally emphatic.

But were Avery Brundage, the 85-year-old president of the International Olympic Committee, to learn just how much money athletes on both sides of the ideological fence receive in the form of subsidies he would undoubtedly journey on foot to Mount Olympus to make amends.

Amateur status has long ceased to be a serious point of discussion for athletes with claims to be taken seriously. Even in Ancient Greece Olympic victors readily accepted cattle and land as a reward.

Yet the 85-year-old Chicago millionaire continues to advocate unadulterated amateurism. On the other hand he has never needed a financial shot in the arm to pay for steaks and additional vitamins.

The Sports Aid Foundation does its best to ensure that no one can live a life of luxury on the proceeds of its grants. Every subsidy is rated travel expenses, a study grant or a contribution towards



additional vitamins and no one can live on the proceeds.

Yet top-flight athletes such as women's pentathlon star Heide Rosendahl and hammer-thrower Uwe Beyer are paid up to 500 Marks a month.

Criticism is rife all the same, particularly among athletes. Many an athlete feels himself to be merely administered rather than supported. Hammer-throwing world record holder Walter Schmidt even goes so far as to voice his opinion that an equestrian is not the right man to head a sports aid organisation.

"He never sweats a drop. The horses do all the work," Schmidt comments. His main criticism is that grants are awarded almost entirely on the basis of performance and pay scant regard to the recipient's needs or those of the *discipline*.

The Amateur Athletics Association alone had 77 names struck from the list of 306 athletes in receipt of grants following poor performances at the European championships in Helsinki. The awards committee is steadily stiffening qualifications.

Criticism has since been so virulent that it threatens to offset what has in the main been a beneficial effect of the Sports Aid Foundation.

Karl Adam, 59, the country's best-known rowing coach and head of Ratzeburg Rowing Academy, has written to Josef Neckermann calling for a clean sweep.

"As long as little Stalins and Napoleons rule the roost in the sporting world in this country the situation cannot be expected to improve," he noted.

Adam expressly included his own association yet had the following criticism to make of the present awards system. "Grants ought no longer to be paid in cash. A contract should be signed between the association and the athletes and guarantee professional training, accommodation and so on."

Adam suggests the establishment of communes where athletes can live and train according to their requirements. The reasons he fields in support of this proposal are surprising enough.

"Left to his own devices in a society dominated by consumption, pensions and the orgasm the athlete is lost. Society is not achievement-orientated. Athletes can only do their best in groups."

Professional Jeremiahs and sceptics are not alone in casting gloom and despondency over the Olympic sky next year in Munich. "Our athletes are up against the wall," *Abendzeitung* of Munich writes.

"They already know that they are not going to win enough medals in 1972 to make the country proud of them and enable it to feel the Olympic expenditure has been worthwhile."

It is nonsense to claim, the paper comments, that a few hundred Marks a month are spoiling athletes or lulling them into a false sense of security. The lack of success is due to the fact that young people today are opposed to compulsion to achieve sporting or other success and consider records to be outdated.

Young people, the argument continues, no longer see sport as a means of competition between social systems.

With a year to go to the Munich Olympics the Sports Aid Foundation is still accepted. After the Olympics it will have to find itself a new motivation and a fresh moral basis. *Joe Viellvoye*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 3 October 1971)

Liesel Westermann, onetime discus world record-holder with Chancellor Willy Brandt and Josef Neckermann, chairman of the Sports Aid Foundation at a recent official reception for sportsmen and women (Photo: dpa)

[illegible]	SA $ 0 05
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Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C 0.65
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT £ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
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Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0 25
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Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
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New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.85
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.50
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	£ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d